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MEMOIRS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

VOL. II. PART II.

Philadelphia:

E. LITTELL, CORNER OF CHESNUT AND SEVENTH STREETS.

1830.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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After a considerable interval of time, the Committee of Publication have the satisfaction of presenting to the Society and the public another half volume of their Memoirs, which will be found, they hope, equal in interest to either of the preceding numbers.

When the publication of the Memoirs of the Historical Society was undertaken in 1825, an expectation was expressed, that the Society would be able to issue, every six months, a half volume of their transactions. This has not hitherto been in their power. The ardour with which the undertaking was commenced, seemed for a time to have somewhat flagged; and during the greater part of the last two years, few original communications were offered.

The attention of the resident members appears, however, at present, to be newly excited. During the last six months, the principal portion of the contents of this number has been furnished, and continued interest and activity may be anticipated.

Several communications are now in preparation, and this committee think they may promise the publication of a series of interesting memoirs on the numerous important subjects hitherto overlooked, as well as on those which have been noticed but not exhausted.

February, 1830.

NOTICE OF THE LIFE

OF

SAMUEL POWEL GRIFFITTS, M. D.

BY B. H. COATES, M. D.

" Esse quam videri."

The office of a historical society is by no means confined to the revival of the neglected and decayed memorials of former years. Amid our regrets for the successive and irreparable loss of those precious records of our ancestors which time awhile had spared, and which we would fain rescue from oblivion, to be completed, compared, and explained, it is perhaps an injustice to posterity to leave to them the same unsatisfactory task with regard to our age which we have already incurred from those who went before us. All that tends to dignify and augment the attachment which every virtuous citizen feels towards his native soil; all that may enable those who are to come after us to grow familiar with the worth which has preceded them; all that may elucidate the nobler parts of the never-exhausted study of man, or enable the youthful aspirant for honest fame or self-rewarded usefulness so to qualify and direct his efforts as to merit well of humanity, and of a conscience that will not flatter, —all furnishes materials well worthy of future perusal, and fully coming within the scope of our association. Preserved

in the documentary pages of historical collections, a kind of perpetuity is given to the records inserted in them; and though, from the comparatively local character of the interest which hangs round antiquarian volumes, the number of those who peruse them may be limited, they still remain, the attested materials of future history, reverenced from an innate desire for their preservation, and possessing a value which progressively increases with advancing years. In this they, in a great measure, share the fate of those medallions to which the form and actions of illustrious men are committed for preservation, and for which they offer no mean substitute; seen, like them, by few, but sought after with the more earnestness, as the tide of time rolls on, from the very circumstance of the smallness of their numbers.

Views of this kind have induced me to offer, for the attention of the society, a brief sketch of the life and character of Dr. Samuel Powel Griffitts. In so doing, I can lay no claim to the merits of a primary collector of scattered facts; as most of the materials presented in this paper have been already laid before a part of the public in a memoir by Dr. Governeur Emerson, published in the North American Medical and Surgical Journal: to which, however, I have been able to make some small additions. Nor will the narrative be found fruitful in striking events; as the life of this excellent physician was passed exclusively among civic scenes. Yet it is not, perhaps, on this account, the less useful. It affords the spectacle of eminence acquired in the peaceful walks of life, by the exertion of those virtues, the opportunities for which occur within the reach of every one; and it is, on this account, the better fitted as a pattern for the imitation of others.

Dr. Griffitts was born in Philadelphia, July 21st, 1759. He was the third and last child of William Griffitts and

Abigail Powel, members in unity with the society of Friends. His father left him an infant: from his mother he received that education which qualified him so well, by the regular, moral, and religious habits it produced, for the exercise of a life of piety and usefulness. As he ripened in age he grew convinced of the correctness, in principle and practice, of the religious body with whom he found himself associated; and soon became, as he continued till the day of his death, one of their most valued, consistent, useful, and influential members. He became an excellent classical scholar at the college of Philadelphia; acquiring a facility in speaking, and a correctness in criticising the Latin language, which was often admired, when, at a subsequent period, he attended the examinations of the public schools under the care of Friends; and, in addition to the branches of study then universal among well informed men, he acquired a high degree of proficiency in the French language.

Dr. Griffitts first applied himself to the study of medicine under the superintendence of Dr. Adam Kuhn; well known among us as a learned pupil of the celebrated Linneus, and then occupying the office of professor to a small class of materia medica and botany in the college of medicine in this city. Between this respected teacher and his pupil ensued a friendship, which time only confirmed and augmented. Drs. Griffitts and Wistar, then both students, volunteered their professional assistance for the wounded at the battle of Germantown; an occasion on which their religious principles did not permit them to assume an authorized and formal charge. After remaining for some time with Dr. Kuhn, the young aspirant for medical honours found himself obliged, in conformity with the universal custom of the time, to proceed to Europe for the completion of his education. We had not then an university whose

reputation stood upon that widely extended and time established basis, which now so fully commands the high respect of medical men and of the world at large. From the English and Scotch schools he found himself debarred by the existing war; and he became one of the first of those American physicians who have drawn a large share of their acquirements from the seminaries of France. In 1781 he proceeded to Paris; and after spending some time in attendance upon the lectures and hospitals prepared for medical instruction in that metropolis, he repaired, in the autumn of the next year, to Montpelier, then brilliant with that glory which traced its origin to the times when learning was confined to the Arabians, and which was destined only to wane with the powers and life of the eloquent Barthez. The lectures of this distinguished physician Dr. Griffits attended; and the writer of this has heard him express, in strong terms, the admiration he felt for the genius of the teacher. After completing a course at Montpelier, our journeyer after knowledge made a tour through the south of France, returned to Paris, and subsequently proceeded to London; which he reached in June, 1783, soon after the acknowledgment of our independence. In London he spent several months in study; and he afterwards repaired to Edinburgh, which had then attained the high eminence it has ever since enjoyed, owing, at that time, to the teachings of the celebrated Cullen. Here and at London he continued till his return to Philadelphia, in the autumn of 1784; having thus spent three years in travelling from school to school for improvement in his profession; a course which more reminds us of former times, and of the remoter parts of the continent of Europe, than of our own age and country, or indeed of England and France, which have been in this respect its prototypes.

The period when Dr. Griffitts thus returned to his native home, was the commencement of a series of unwearied, uninterrupted, unpretending labours, which entirely occupied the residue of his useful days. He rapidly assumed a numerous and responsible practice, a remarkable share of which was placed among those commonly styled the higher classes of society. The important duties which arose from these engagements he performed with a judgment and good sense which rendered him eminent among the best, and with a punctual attention which has become proverbial among his numerous acquaintance: while, in addition to this, his name is always to be found in the lists of those whom an enlightened philanthropy, during a long period, combined in the furtherance of various schemes for the purpose of improving the condition of their fellows.

In 1786, was founded the Philadelphia Dispensary; an institution in the service of which, including the subsequent branches which sprung from the same trunk, he was employed with an extraordinary perseverance, during the remainder of his long and laborious life. "That Dr. Griffitts," says his biographer, "was the first person who actively engaged in the establishment of a Dispensary in Philadelphia, rests upon the most respectable testimony;" and the memories of numerous most estimable individuals now living records him as having been both its leading founder, and for forty years its most active and persevering supporter. Yet, with a severe modesty and a cruel sense of justice, very unusual in the world at large, but of which various instances might be cited among our townsmen, Dr. Griffitts has himself left, among his MS. papers, a note, the apparent object of which is to deprive himself of a portion of the credit which his compatriots believed to be justly his due. Dr. Henry Moyes, a travelling lecturer on natural philoso-

phy, proposed, it seems, in 1785, the establishment of a Dispensary in Philadelphia; and, with the assistance of Samuel Powel, Dr. Griffitts's uncle, drew up a plan for its organization, which was subsequently revised and finally adopted, with the co-operation of Drs. Rush, Griffitts, Hall, and Morris. It is said to have been made clear, by the circumstances of a recent trial, that evidence which a man gives against himself is not always to be held conclusive. The mere proposal, or rather recommendation to our predecessors, of a measure which was already familiar by its successful execution in London, an occurrence redundant in the brain of every projector, should avail but little to detract from the merit of him, to whose intellect and energy we are entirely indebted for its actual execution. Let the fact be recorded; but let it not diminish the credit awarded to the useful and indispensable exertions of Dr. Griffitts.

In the short space of two weeks, among a population of about 40,000, there were obtained three hundred and twenty subscribers; and the Dispensary went early into operation, in which it has continued, without interruption, to the present time. In 1816, two new charities of the same kind were created in our suburbs; in the establishment and support of which Dr. Griffitts took the same interest, and exerted much of the same industry, which, during so long a period, he had evinced for the parent institution. Throughout this long period, according to the writer already quoted, he rarely omitted a daily visit to the cherished object of his anxieties.*

In the same year in which the Dispensary was established

* The Philadelphia Dispensary was not, however, the earliest institution of the kind in this city; as a similar one, attended by a physician with a salary, formed, from its foundation in 1755 to 1817, what was termed the department of *out patients* to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

he became an active member of the Humane Society; and was likewise chosen into the American Philosophical Society. In 1787, he became one of the original members of the College of Physicians; a body which, in 1817, honoured him with its vice presidency.

In 1787, also took place his marriage with Mary Fishbourne, daughter of William Fishbourne, merchant, of Philadelphia. This truly estimable lady, with six children, still survive him.

In 1790, he joined the Pennsylvania Abolition Society; and about the same time, the Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. In both of these associations, his exertions will be long and affectionately remembered by his colleagues; but particularly with regard to the improvement of the penal code; a task, the successful prosecution of which by various hands has contributed, perhaps, nearly as much as any other thing, to spread throughout the world the honest fame of Pennsylvania.

In this service he had the pleasure of co-operating and being associated with the venerable Bishop White; the one acting as president, and the other as secretary, throughout the whole existence of the association, from its foundation until the termination of Dr. Griffitts's life.

In November, 1791, Dr. Griffitts was elected one of the incorporated overseers of public schools for the town and county of Philadelphia, under the charge of Friends. Of this plain, but useful association, he continued to be a valued member for twenty-four years; resigning in May, 1815. In the conduct of its schools, this body has always aimed at solid, rather than showy instruction. Their success has not only been such as to furnish an excellent elementary education to the whole mass of the members of their own society, and to an additional number of

gratuitous scholars, from among others, whose honourable poverty was never affronted by their being made objects of public display; but the classical and mathematical instruction dispensed under their superintendence has served to develope the genius of some of the brightest ornaments which science and useful public life have given to our community.

In 1792, he was elected Professor of Materia Medica in the University of Pennsylvania, which situation he held with the highest credit and rapidly increasing usefulness for four years; after which he resigned. This voluntary relinquishment of a situation which afforded abundantly both fortune and fame, can only be explained in one possible way, namely, by a species of modesty similar to that which we have already described; and which induced a dislike to the glare of applause, a sense of the partiality and injustice of popular fame, and a disinclination to receiving salaries. These feelings, which will appear incredible to many, have unquestionably a real existence, and bore a powerful sway in the bosom of Dr. Griffitts.

The sufferings and forlorn situation of the unfortunate emigrants, who arrived from St. Domingo, in the year 1793, deprived of their sometimes princely fortunes, and snatched or smuggled with difficulty and concealment from amidst their murdered relatives, to experience the evils of poverty in a foreign land, could not fail to awaken the most powerful sympathies in the breast of our philanthropic townsman. Accordingly, we find him conspicuous, not only in raising subscriptions, but in superintending their application; a task for which he was particularly fitted by his familiarity with the French language.

But in the same year his intellectual and moral powers were destined to undergo a far severer trial, and of a kind truly

dangerous and terrific, in endeavouring to withstand the progress of the celebrated pestilence, which carried terror and dismay to the remoter districts, and which made Philadelphia, in silence and desolation, almost resemble a city of the dead. When the yellow fever, with startling rapidity, spread over the larger part of what was then the ground plot of our city, as well as in all subsequent visitations of the same kind, Dr. Griffitts remained at his post, not being able to reconcile it with his sense of duty to forsake the scene where his services were so much more than ever needed. One of a small number* who dared and survived to face the destroying visiter, he so disposed of his time as to attend to the greatest possible number of calls, and still continued his attentions till himself disabled by an attack of the tremendous malady with which he was contending. As soon again as his health was in a tolerable degree restored, he immediately resumed his labours, and never intermitted them till the approach of salubrity and peace.

The manner in which Dr. Griffitts arranged his occupations, during this awful calamity, so as to produce the maximum of benefit to the community, deserves to be studied; and we shall give it as we have often heard it described by those who witnessed the calamitous events of that time. Every principle of it was guided by the coolest sagacity and reflection. Those squares which hardly presented a visible inhabitant, excepting here and there a starving cat or pigeon, and which rather resembled a collection of tombs

* It is no more than an act of justice to the conscientious fortitude of a number of our active citizens, to state, that, on comparing the lists of members of the Prison Society, and the other charitable associations of that time, with that of the individuals who volunteered their services in the fearful and disastrous times of the yellow fever, they will be found largely composed of the same names.

than habitations of the living, in reality contained a considerable population. Besides those whom ignorance or a wish to take care of their property retained in the city, multitudes of the poor were prevented from removing by the actual want of means; and they remained, in the winding recesses of their confined alleys, to form food for the demon of destruction. As the number of physicians whom death and flight had left in town was extremely reduced, amounting for a considerable interval to no more than six, these divided the city into districts, of which each took charge of one. A central, thoroughly infected, and populous section was undertaken by Dr. Griffitts; and he attended to it with the most unremitting industry, and a punctuality never deficient. He never left his district, not even to cross the street, knowing well that it was impossible for him, by any exertions, to give attendance to all the sick, and conceiving that every principle of justice demanded of him such a management of his time, as to enable him to visit the greatest number admitted of by his physical capabilities. The same principle he extended to hours; and most scrupulously regulated his goings forth and returnings by the clock. Those who sought him at the appointed moments were sure to find him, as he would not disappoint them for even the most pressing summons. This severe discipline, somewhat resembling the terrific but substantial mercies of a surgical operation, in reality economised and saved numerous lives; one of which is very probably that of the practitioner himself. Far worse would the situation of the unfortunate have been, had Dr. Griffitts sunk in the conflict. He who rashly throws away his own existence in the service of his perishing fellow creatures, has an unquestionable title to our regrets for his loss and our gratitude and praise for his self-devotion; but he is less excellent as a moral agent than

one who confines his risks to the probable pursuit of a useful object. The surgeon, who, in time of battle, leaves his appointed post in the cock-pit, and is slain upon the deck, where he has no right to be, is guilty of neglect of duty. Not so did Dr. Griffitts. Life with him was freely lavished; but it was lavished in such a way as to extend, to the farthest limit in his power, the supply of his services to others. It is highly probable that the passage through such a fiery ordeal contributed much to temper and anneal that remarkable character for regularity and unfailing punctuality, for which he was so conspicuous in after life.

In those subsequent years when the same distressing calamity recurred, a similar course was uniformly pursued by Dr. Griffitts; but in none did there exist an equal call for its exertion, with the exception of the truly funereal 1798; and we are not, perhaps, absolutely without grounds for a hope that we may never be so awfully visited again. In more than one instance, however, Dr. Griffitts's fortitude was put severely to the test, in a manner quite different from that which we have described. I allude to an ungrateful clamour, injurious to his reputation, raised by a portion of his fellow-citizens from no more fitting cause than his having made known the existence of the yellow fever in this city, to the more immediate injury of its trading interests. It seems to be a settled principle that he who first announces the invasion of a pestilence should be defamed and maltreated by his fellow-citizens; the most highly civilized communities, in this respect, resembling those Turkish despots who murder the messenger of bad news; as even the polished Athenians are said to have condemned to death the man who first brought them information of a signal defeat sustained by their armies from the Lacedæmonians. Physicians, in various ages, have suffered by this propensity; and by none is it more bitterly

complained of than by Sydenham, who made known the existence of the plague in London, and by our own Rush, who shared the troubles of Dr. Griffitts. So little capable are most men of forming a just valuation of what passes in elevated minds on occasions calculated to draw forth all their emotions, that the deep and strong feeling which these receive and betray from the tragical events which surround them, has been mistaken for pecuniary interest, folly, or insanity! They feel themselves acting a dignified part; and their motives and conduct differ so far from those of the majority, that ordinary intelligences are unable to comprehend them. To the sensitive mind which is conscious of making the most extraordinary exertions for the public service, extending to a personal risk of life from which others shrink, it is peculiarly hard to bear the additional load of misrepresentation. The subject of these notes felt it severely; needing, to enable him to support it, all that high sense of duty for which he was conspicuous.

To descend from these heroic times to the ordinary events of a peaceful city, excites feelings somewhat resembling those with which we turn from the semi-fabulous and majestic exploits of high antiquity, to the tiresome intrigues of the modern courts of Europe. The mind flags from the want of high excitement, and a sensation of meanness and vulgarity is felt in the most important affairs of common life. Besides the private efforts which Dr. Griffitts, in common with all other educated physicians, made for the furtherance of vaccination among us, he was an original member and active promoter of the Vaccine Society, founded in 1809; an association to the labours of whose members, thus performing tasks which, in many countries, are undertaken by governments, is mainly due the *entire extinction* and banishment from our city, for many successive

years, of the small pox; a result beyond that which is believed to have been obtained in any other part of the world, without actual compulsion. Our protection, it is true, has since diminished, from the entire expulsion of the pest to a simple guarantee against death and deformity, still subject to the occurrence of a modified disease; but this certainly presents quite sufficient cause for gratitude. When, in the year 1811, the religious society of Friends determined to provide an asylum for the reception of such of their members as should be deprived of the use of their reason, to be modelled after the institution near York, and to be conformed to the latest and most humane improvements in the treatment of its inmates, Dr. Griffitts became immediately most warmly interested. The subject appears to have lain on his mind for years. The present is not the place to expatiate upon the humanity, comfort, and curative success of the Frankford Asylum; but it should be borne in mind that a large share of its usefulness is owing to the labours and skill of the subject of our memoir.

Our account of the exertions of this virtuous man is drawing to a close. The last public event of any importance, in the bringing about of which he was concerned, was the production of the American Pharmacopœia. Works of this kind are by their nature imperfect; and the best of them, prepared by public bodies, possessing, among their members, the brightest scientific lights of the age, have furnished a surprising amount of matter for just criticism. The compilation of our countrymen is by no means free from perhaps more than its due share of faults; but whether we consider the manner in which it was produced, not by a privileged body or by order of a government, but by the spontaneous association of a number of medical institutions for the common good; or whether we look to the import-

ance of the object in view, a similarity in the preparation of medicines throughout this widely extended empire, and to the great degree to which it answered its useful purpose, we cannot but regard it as a production commanding our high respect, and reflecting great honour on its projectors and executors. Dr. Griffitts was placed on a committee of the College of Physicians, to prepare a draft to be presented to the national convention, to be held for this purpose in the capitol at Washington. This labour was chiefly performed by himself; and a large share of what excellence the printed edition possesses is owing to his exertions. The convention met on the first of January, 1820; and the Pharmacopœia was published at Boston, in the same year.

But the termination of his useful labours was now at hand. During the last two years of his life, a visible diminution took place in his strength and activity. He continued, however, to execute his usual tasks, unless when interrupted by actual sickness, till the month of May, 1826. For several days he had experienced a debility which prevented him from visiting the whole number of his patients, unaccompanied, however, by any very distinct marks of disease; when, on the morning of the twelfth, on arising from his bed, he discovered alarming symptoms about the chest. These proved to be owing to an attack of peripneumonia notha; which hurried him off in less than an hour; no one but his family witnessing this real euthanasia.

At this awful epocha ends the usefulness of most men; but Dr. Griffitts had pre-determined to do good even after his death. It deserves to be mentioned, as a fitting close to such a life, that, in the directions he left behind him, it was attempted to make the last melancholy duties which we pay to the forsaken clay, beneficial to a community of which he was no longer a member. He had long been impressed

with the injurious consequences of interments within large cities; and his corpse, in pursuance of his own directions, was one of the first deposited in a new burying ground, situated without the precincts of the town, with the object of setting an example to those whom prejudice or habit might deter from thus forsaking the hereditary asylum of the dead.

Dr. Griffitts was of the middle size; and, though very liable to indisposition, had a frame that withstood a remarkable amount of exertion and exposure. He was, at one period of his life, subject to dyspepsia; and, for near thirty years, is said never to have passed a twelvemonth without an attack of intermittent fever. Yet, unless actually suffering from illness, the severest weather never kept him at home; and he was seen braving the east wind, in which he took a pleasure, with all the hardihood of a seaman. Constant attention was, however, necessary to obtain his frame in a condition capable of hard service; and he practised the most rigid temperance and self-denial.

At an early period of his life, but not, as we have heard him state, till after long deliberation, he adopted the plain and peculiar dress worn by the graver members of the religious society of which he was a member. His address was affable and prompt; his manner of speech, striking and epigrammatic. He possessed, in a remarkable degree, the power of commanding the confidence and affection of his patients; by whom he was always regarded as a kind encouraging friend. Having experienced much of the ills of life, he early anchored his mind on a rigid sense of duty, and on the consolations offered by religion; and his piety was founded on a sincere and unshaken faith in the doctrines of Christianity. The writer of this has heard him contend that fame was not a legitimate reward for virtuous actions; rectitude, he maintained, was all that we had a

right to aim at, in even the noblest. This strictness of principle pervaded all his movements; and was concerned in that exact attention to all the smallest duties which was so striking in his character. For punctuality he became proverbial; he was an early riser, and was almost invariably one of the earliest at the meetings of the public bodies to which he belonged. He considered correctness in this respect a moral duty of a high stamp; regarding the unnecessary detention of others as an infliction of a positive injury; being, in fact, unjustly depriving them of what was their own. The uniformity with which he paid his daily visits to the Dispensary has been already mentioned; and, with nearly equal certainty, he would call every day upon each of his children and grandchildren residing in the city.

The manner in which he relinquished a situation of profit and honour sufficiently demonstrates his freedom from ordinary ambition; while, during the whole course of his life, he never seems to have betrayed a wish to accumulate wealth. In fact, exactness in the discharge of his daily duties seems with him to have constituted what is called the ruling passion. He is said to have always begun the day by reading a portion of the New Testament in Greek or Latin; and he was seldom known, even in the midst of the most pressing engagements, to be absent from the public meetings of his religious society. His fellow-members placed confidence in him; and they always found it ably justified by his subsequent conduct.

In his intercourse with other physicians, his behaviour was uniformly candid and ingenuous; governed, at the same time, by the strictest rules of medical etiquette; which he considered as having a moral obligation on medical practitioners. His practice as a physician was eminently successful, displaying great judgment and penetration, and a deep

sense of the moral responsibility of his charge. He always combined the two opposite precautions of a due respect for established doctrines and modes of practice, and a readiness, at all times, to receive and acknowledge truth, though under the garb of novelty. That the healing art had made important progress during his life time, he well knew; but his habits of mind entertained a strong repulsion for those doctrines and theories which he conceived to have been advanced, either without sufficient inquiry, or with a criminal indifference to their truth. Though deeply sensible of the great importance of incorrect medical doctrines, he could yet agree to differ, and knew how to retain his friendship for those opposed to him in sentiment, where he conceived them to be actuated by sound moral principles.

As a writer, Dr. Griffitts appears but little. In fact, he was prevented by the same feelings which made him shun the glare of popular fame, when attached to a professor's chair. Though he was an elegant scholar, his essays are characterised by plainness, attention to accuracy in fact, and a direct subserviency to the useful purpose. The amount of labour which he expended in drawing up the accounts and reports of the Dispensary and other charities, and, in other similar services, in which he never spared himself, is astonishing; and would, if differently directed, have enabled him, with much greater ease, to produce a large number of professional writings. I know of no publications from his hand, except the following; all of which were inserted in a useful medical journal, called the Eclectic Repertory, of which for several years he was one of the editors. They are, an essay on the best means of preserving and using the vaccine crust, one on the use of blisters in arresting mortification, another on re-infection in yellow fever, the occurrence of which it is the object of the paper to disprove, a

neat biographical notice of his preceptor, Dr. Adam Kuhn, written with all the warmth of an affectionate pupil, and all the severe candour of a principled lover of truth; and a case of supposed aneurism of the right carotid artery, which ultimately proved to be of a different nature; his object being to serve the community by thus recording an error of his own, and to prevent the performance of an operation, in cases similar to that which he records. This is a species of candour which has in all ages been found to characterise superior minds in the profession of medicine. Such souls as Hippocrates, Sydenham, and Hunter, have been conspicuous for it; nor must our own Rush be in this respect denied a commendation which is justly his due.

Such is a brief outline of the narrative and character of one to whom the maxim ascribed by Sallust to Cato may be faithfully applied. "To be, rather than to seem," was truly the object of his persevering endeavours. He was, indeed, an eminent example of those virtues which the Roman lyrist so fervently commends, in an age which so deeply felt the want of them.

Pudor, et Justitiæ soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas.

NARRATIVE

OF

SIR WILLIAM KEITH'S

COMING TO

THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA,

With his Conduct in it.

(*WRITTEN IN* 1726)

WITH SOME INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS,

BY

JOSHUA FRANCIS FISHER.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, February 20th, 1828.

NARRATIVE, &c.

THE following account of Sir William Keith's administration was found among the papers of the late James Hamilton Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania. I have been unable to discover its author, though I find, from the concluding paragraph, that it was written in England and in the year 1726. I may, however, observe, that the celebrated barrister Andrew Hamilton was at that time in England, and employed in the proprietary service; and, as it is evident that the paper was composed for the Penn family, it is possible that it may be his production.

As a contemporary narrative, it has considerable interest, and its value is increased by the fair and temperate manner in which it is written. It is not indeed quite in accord with some of the accounts we have received of Governor Keith; but I think I may venture to assert, that his character and administration have received undue eulogy; and, it is now full time that the misrepresentations of Franklin's Review, which have been copied in every succeeding history or sketch, should be corrected. It will not perhaps be considered an unsuitable preface to this narrative, if I string together a few anecdotes and observations, which may be of some service to future annalists.

Sir William Keith was of the family of Powburn, in the

north of Scotland, and his grandfather was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1663. With his title he inherited no fortune. In the latter part of Queen Anne's reign he obtained the post of surveyor general of the customs for the American colonies, with a salary of £500 sterling; a reward perhaps for services to the high tory ministry then in power. On the accession of king George, he was displaced; and when he visited Philadelphia in 1715, he was so much in want, that we but cannot believe he had interested motives for the pains he took to conciliate the proprietary's friends. He was recommended by them to the family in England so strongly as a successor to Col. Gookin, and found means to gain such favour with the Penns, that he soon afterwards received his commission. The difficulties and expenses in obtaining the royal confirmation may have been occasioned by his political connexions.

When he left England, he professed himself the devoted servant of the proprietary; and Hannah Penn says, in a letter to James Logan, "He has also given me such assurance of his care and zeal in our affairs, as gives us room to hope you may safely consult with him for your own ease and our benefit in cases of property."

It is well known in what way these promises were fulfilled. From the proprietary he had already received his *office*. The assembly had in their grant what was of much more moment—his *salary*. I quote the words of Franklin: "With as particular an eye to his own emolument, he did indeed make his first address to the assembly; but then, all he said was in *popular* language. He did not so much as name *the proprietary*, and his hints were such as could not be misunderstood, that, in case they would pay him well, he would serve them well." However, for some time he kept terms with his constituents and his council—perhaps he could

find no suitable grievance or occasion for a quarrel; and indeed it was difficult to discover any act of premeditated encroachment or oppression on the part of the proprietary government. A contemporary letter says, "the governor, soon after his first arrival, was advised that the best means to advance his interest with the people, would be to fall in with David Lloyd, and those who opposed the proprietary interests, so far as to make that step of passing laws with that assembly without any real concurrence of his council; but some others of his countrymen, in whom he also very much confided at that time, viz. William Trent, who was speaker of that assembly, and Andrew Hamilton, advising very earnestly against it, he seemed to fall in very cordially with the council, till such time as some late mobbish elections were set on foot; upon which, in hopes of advancing his interest more effectually by countenancing these, he changed sides again, and now acts his present part."

As it is not my object to complete a biographical sketch of Governor Keith, I will not detail nor criticise the acts of his administration. They are to be found elsewhere. Those who will turn to the severe but admirable letter of Hannah Penn, addressed in 1724 to Sir William, will see how just were the causes of complaint which that excellent woman had against her deputy. This letter has been condemned, as containing both doctrines and precepts at variance with the charter of 1801—which does not confer on the council that authority and consideration which this letter as well as previous instructions to the lieutenant governor directed him to yield. But, I do not know how men of intellect could deny to the proprietaries the absolute right of instructing and controlling their deputy in the exercise of his legislative functions—or argue that they could not forbid him to act in affairs of moment without the consent of

counsellors, amongst whom were men of the greatest honour, understanding, and experience of the colony. Without this check and control—the democracy of the assembly, with an unprincipled governor, would have possessed a power which Wm. Penn never would have conferred—a power destructive of all the proprietary interests in Pennsylvania.

Sir William, who, at the time of the receipt of this letter, was losing his popularity among the colonists, and his influence in the legislature, determined to betray the private instructions of his constituents. He delivered the letter to the assembly, and, by the outcry and misinterpretations of his partisans, so inflamed the passions, and excited the prejudices of the populace, that he soon regained his former place in the affections of the ignorant and base.

His mean, sycophantic addresses to the assembly deserve particular reprobation, and gained for him the hatred and contempt of many of the best men in the province.

Jeremiah Langhorne, one of the worthiest and most influential inhabitants, for many years speaker of assembly, and afterwards chief justice, in a letter, dated February, 1724, says, that the governor, having invited the house, with whom he was not at that time on very good terms, "to take a glass and pipe with him," made a long harangue to them, in which he challenged them to let him know, "whose petition he had refused—whose complaint he had not heard; and demanded of them, as justice and his right, to let him know wherein he had not discharged his duty to the public, that he might guard against any thing of the kind for the future; and if they had nothing to charge him with, to say so—for it would be very unjust for any man to deny a good servant that had served out his time faithfully, a certificate, if demanded, in order to recommend him to another service."

"You'll plainly discover what is meant by all this. I

think it means no more than to raise compassion in the populace, whom you know he has courted in the most abject manner; for I believe he is so far from thinking (if he is to be believed in any thing he says) that it is in the power of the proprietary's family to displace him, under the present posture of their affairs, that he thinks it impossible for them to remove him: And should any of that family come over as governor, (without the royal approbation,) I am of opinion he would not resign."

His treachery and his arts had so much success in exciting the animosity of the colonists against the proprietary government, that the true friends of the province and of the Penns were able only to utter an unheard and unavailing protest. In a letter to John Penn, James Logan observes: "Sir William Keith, in the latter years of his government, had so far succeeded in his ambitious designs of making himself wholly independent of the proprietor's family, that amongst the populace that family could scarcely be mentioned without a slight. That he was a gentleman of great natural abilities, and no less art, we were all fully sensible; and as he well knew how to lay hold of men by their weak sides, he had gained over to his interest the greater part of the whole country. Some few, who could see further, were proof against his baits, and particularly J. Langhorne, who, with some few of his friends, had interest enough in his county to carry the election there, and to furnish our assemblies with eight members yearly, who, with two or three more, as they could from time to time be found amongst those of the other counties and be prevailed on, were such a clog on the governor's schemes, that he could not often carry them in that house. His interest and influence, however, gradually increased, and was at a great height, when

happily Col. Gordon was sent over to supersede Sir William's commission.

"As this gentleman (Gordon) had no experience, no turn for government, nor any great abilities to engage with a person consummate in them all, (good judgment alone excepted,) and who had also the advantage of the populace, especially of Philadelphia, on his side; 'tis easy to imagine what vast labour and contrivance, and how exact a conduct it required to gain on so powerful an opposition. But, on the other hand, as he appeared a person of probity and sincerity, great honour, and good nature, and perfectly disposed to be advised by his friends; with these, and with the advantage of authority on his side, he, with the assiduous endeavours of those on whom he depended, gradually made his way into the esteem of those of judgment: but, during those two years nearly that Keith continued amongst us, our struggles were hard, and vast difficulties were to be overcome; and Sir William, even at his departure, left such a poison behind him, that after he was gone his adherents did all in their power to plunge us in a war with the Indians; a crime that ought never to be forgiven those persons in a public capacity, however civilly in other respects it may be proper to treat them."

For the conclusion of the career of Governor Keith, I cannot do better than use the words of a distinguished lady, who is better acquainted than any one with this period of our provincial history.

"In the spring of this year (1728) Sir William Keith left the province; his ambitious projects to secure himself in the government having totally failed him. Much is said in the letters of James Logan respecting his intriguing spirit and dishonourable behaviour, both in the latter years of his government, and during the time he stayed in Pennsylvania

after the arrival of Col. Gordon, to whom he was so personally uncivil, that the old veteran proposed to him once at New Castle to take a boat and go over on the Jersey shore, where they would be on an equal footing. But this put a stop to Sir William's declamations against the proprietors.

" After he found himself superseded, he trusted that his popularity, which he had most assiduously cultivated, would place him in a situation to benefit himself and irritate his enemies; and accordingly, with a view to the speaker's chair, got himself chosen a representative to the assembly from Philadelphia county; boasting that if he was to be no longer governor, the devil himself should not prevent him from being speaker. But in this he had to contend with a candidate equal in popular favour, David Lloyd, who numbered amongst his friends all those of the popular party who felt or desired to be thought to feel, gravity and seriousness. Whilst Sir William principally swayed the more free and less religious part of the community, his party being called Keithians, a name of reproach at that time in Pennsylvania, from the followers of George Keith, of apostate memory, being so designated. It was at the election of 1726, that Sir William was chosen; and on the day the assembly met, he rode into town with a cavalcade of eighty horse. Yet he was not so much as named as speaker, for every vote but three was given to David Lloyd, who then professed a reconciliation with James Logan, a just regard to the proprietor's family, and a great friendship for Col. Gordon, whom he believed, he said, to be a really honest man.

Sir William's friends found themselves thus in a helpless minority. What his schemes afterwards were, cannot now be so well ascertained; but it is certain that persecuted by creditors, whom he had not the means of satisfying or silencing, he quitted the field of action. An old letter now

before me gives the following account of his departure; after stating the various rumours that he had been sent for to Europe, in order to receive a new commission for the government, &c. and that others "thought he had been made uneasy by some judgments against him, and a fresh demand on him from Europe for £500 sterling, which made him think fit to desert his bail; however this be, (continues the letter, which is dated March 30th, 1728,) this is the fact, that Sir William Keith, about twelve days since, went very privately down from hence (Philadelphia) in a boat to New Castle, attended only by his friend, Wm. Chancellor, and went with one small trunk only on board Capt. Colvell's ship, then lying before that place, and bound for Europe, and that he staid in her two days so very privately, that not one in the place knew of it beside the collector, his son in law, and the parson George Ross; for that all the other inhabitants had the first news of his departure from this place after the ship had sailed."

Keith's conduct as a member of the legislature was so dishonourable and violent that he quickly lost the good opinion of his friends. He attempted to thwart every measure of his successor, and threatened to wrest the government from the proprietary family; but notwithstanding all his boasts and threats, as his views became understood, his power declined; and before he left America, he had drawn upon himself universal contempt and detestation. He attempted, indeed, to vindicate his conduct in a pamphlet printed in New York and Maryland; but this, says a contemporary letter, only "served to expose his vanity and folly."

On his return to England, he found himself without reputation, influence, or money. He was perhaps induced by his distress to undertake a history of the different colonies, for which he was sufficiently qualified both in mind and by

education. He began with Virginia, and though his production was quite respectable, he was not encouraged to proceed with his undertaking.

I have found but one later notice of him, and that alone is sufficient, among Americans, to render his name forever infamous. It was he who first suggested to the British ministry the idea of *taxing the colonies.* In Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, we find it particularly stated, that Sir William Keith, late governor of Pennsylvania, proposed this project to the great statesman soon after the failure of his excise bill, to which Sir Robert indignantly replied, "I have Old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?" An answer worthy of that minister, who, some years before, on hearing of the discontent which Swift had excited in Ireland, on occasion of the patent granted to Wood, replied, "If, after all, the Irish should dislike the plan, I shall give it up, as I would never wish to oppose the general opinion of a country." But what shall we say of our *popular* governor?

After this statement, it seems almost unnecessary to add a character of Sir William Keith.

He was a man of good talents, respectable acquirements, and genteel address; but he was artful, avaricious, and without principle. His deportment towards the proprietaries was ungrateful and treacherous; and his private conduct (for an instance of which I may refer to Franklin's Biography) was unworthy of a gentleman.

If, under his government, many useful laws were passed, I know not why he should have the chief credit for them; and his popularity with the people was any thing but honourable, since it was the result of meanness and sycophancy. His talents were certainly far superior to those of his two

contemptible predecessors, and his administration more respectable; but he will hardly compare with either of his successors in dignity, in integrity, or in the faithful performance of the divided duty to the proprietors and the people.

Narrative of S^r W. Keith's coming to the Gov^t of Pennsylv^a and his Conduct in it, &c.

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In y^e year 1715, S^r W^m Keith, then W^m Keith, Esq^r: being in America and out of all employ, and in his Travells happening to come to Pensylvania, the gentlemen of the Councill in that Province, who were the Proprietor's Friends, in compassion to his Distressed circumstances, recommended him to y^e said late Proprietor Penn, who was then in England.

Mr. Keith no sooner arriv'd in Britain, and Presented himself with the recommendation afores^d to y^e late Proprietor Mr. Penn and his Friends, but a commission in y^e usuall form was granted to him, to be Deputy Governour of Pensylvania, and the three Lower Countys of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Dellaware, and likewise advanc'd to y^e s^d Mr. Keith a considerable sum of money to Provide himself w^th necessaries, in Order to his Transporting himself and family to Pensylvania, where he arriv'd in May 1717.

At his coming into y^t Governmment, he was kindly received by the People; and the Proprietor's Friends, Especially, us'd all their Interest to get him an honourable support, and Accordingly the first year his Support and Perquisites which he receiv'd from y^t government amounted to about £1600, together with a sum exceeding that, which belonged to his Majesty, and which remains unaccounted for in his hands at this day. And every year since except

this last, the said Government has been worth at least £1800 Pensylvania money to him.

Upon the death of the late Proprietor, Wm Penn, his son Wm Penn, in the year 1719, sent over a new commission to Sr Wm Keith to be Governour of the Province of Pensylvania and the Countys aforesd. But Sr Wm hearing the late Proprietor had made a Will, and therein devised the government in Trust to be sold, &c. the sd Sr Wm, without any further Information, or so much as taking any notice of the said commission, or acquainting any of the Proprietor's family, sent home a very unjust representation of the State of that Government, and thereupon by his Friends, without the privity of any of the Proprietor's family, obtained a letter from Mr Delafaye, purporting that, by an Order of the then Lords Justices, ye said Sr Wm should continue to act upon his former appointment, untill his Majesty's or the Proprietor's Pleasure should be known.

Sr Wm upon the receipt of this letter, openly declar'd himself to hold the government Immediately of the crown. And altho' the said Sr William, in his Commission from ye said late Proprietor for being Gover of Pensylvania, &c. is strictly prohibited to intermeddle with Lands or any other Affairs of Property whatsoever,

Yet, hearing of a Copper Mine in the Proprietor's Lands within the said Province, he went privately with a surveyor, and without any right attempted to Survey a Tract of Land, Including the Place where the said Mine was suppos'd to be, in his own name, and to his own use, and set men to work upon it.

And altho' he knew the soil of the said Province and Countys were then (and still are) vested in Trustees by the sd late Proprier for the Payment of a part of a large Debt contracted in ye settling and improving the sd Province and

Countys, which Trustees, with y^e^ assent and approbation of the said late Proprietor Penn, appointed Commissioners in Pensylvania to dispose of Lands, and receive the Quit-Rents of that Country, for y^e^ use of the s^d^ Trustees towards Payment of the s^d^ Debt and Interest;

Yet y^e^ s^d^ Gov^r^ Keith, in order to Establish his Title to the s^d^ Tract of Land and suppos'd Copper Mine, attempted to get a return of the said survey (tho' not finish'd) entered in the Councill books, but the same being opppos'd by all the Members of the Councill except two, as being a Breach of his Commission and Instructions, and against the known Laws and Constitution of the s^d^ Province, he thereupon told them he wanted not their Concurrence, for he did not hold himself oblig'd to take their advice, but call'd them there as solemn Witnesses of his acts; and added further, he knew no Power in that Government to sell Lands or manage the Affairs of Property Except himself, which has had a very fatal Effect upon the Proprietor's Affairs in y^t^ Country ever since. Y^e^ s^d^ S^r^ W^m^ either removing all the Proprietor's Friends from any Places of Trust in that Government, or otherwise discountenancing them, so that they could not be of any service to his Affairs there, which was ill taken by the Generality of the People of that Province.

But in the year 172* in conjunction with the meanest and needy people of the Governm^t^ who are always a Majority, set a Project on foot to get a paper Currency Established by an Act of Assembly, and to bring this to pass, in his Public Speeches he inveyed much against those whom he called rich men as Persons having a design of enslaving the Poor honest Laborious part of Mankind, and therefore they ought to be upon their Guard, so that, by such management, he stirr'd up a very great uneasiness in the Minds of

the Common People thro' the whole Province, and it had the desired effect, for they chose an Assembly, that year, consisting generally of such as were very much indebted.

In the year 1722 the s^d S^r William with the said Assembly passed an act for emitting the sum of £15,000 paper money to be lent on the security of the People's Lands in that Province. Great opposition was made to this act by the Majority of the Councill, but the use he made of that was only to animate the Assembly and Common People still the more against the Councill, who ffirst proposed that the act should be sent home for his Majesty's Royall Approbation before it should take Effect.

2ndly. That all sums of Money due or Payable to his Majesty should be excepted out of the act.

3rdly. That all the Debts due to the Proprietor's and English merchants should be excepted.

—but all was rejected.

In 1723 he again, together with the Assembly, made another act for emitting £30,000 paper money, and immediately after he had passed the said Act he acquainted the Assembly of the necessity there was to raise money for an Agent in England to stand by those Acts and to prevent their being damned, and in order to prevail upon them to send a sum of Money to Mr. Beake, to solicit the getting the Royall Assent to these acts for a Paper Currency, he communicated to the Assembly a Letter from the Board of Trade in Britain, which he had received long before that session of Assembly, advising him against making any paper money, and made a merit of obliging the Assembly, at the hazard of disobliging the Lords of trade, &c.

J. Logan who has been Secretary of the Province of Pensylvania, appointed by the late Proprietor himself about the year 1700, and chief Commissioner of Property for the

said Proprietor and Trustees, came to England in the year 1723, and tho' he had been ill used by the said S^r^ William for Endeavouring to support the Proprietor's rights instead of getting the said S^r^ William removed from the Governm^t^, he only procured a private letter of Instructions from Mrs. Penn to the said Governour; hoping the same might have a good effect upon him, in which instructions he was required to take the advice of his Councill, (who were always supposed to be People of the best Condition in the Province, and ffriends to the said Proprietor,) in all matters of moment and in Legislation. It is true the Councill by the Present Constitution, are no part of the Legislature, yet the Proprietor himself, when he was on the spot, did and his Deputys since have always been enjoyn'd to take the A dvice ofthe Council as Men of the best Abilitys and interest in the Province, which they have for the most part observed.

His letter from Mrs Penn was privately deliver'd to the Governour by the said J. Logan, but he, instead of keeping it secret, talked of it publickly as an invasion of the People's rights and Priviledges, and he wrot a letter to Mrs Penn, by Coll Spotswood, his great Friend, late Governour of Virginia, which came not to her hands till some time in December 1724, in which with great Haughtiness and disregard he tells Mrs. Penn he cannot observe her instructions, because they are not only repugnant to the Constitution but inconsistent and contradictory in themselves; and instead of waiting untill he could have an answer from Mrs. Penn, he in a speech to the Assembly in January 1795, exposed the said private instructions to the Assembly and the letter he had wrot to M^rs^ Penn, and made a merit of his having opposed the Proprietary Interest to serve them, and secure to them their Priviledges against such unjust

attempts, and by all the ways and means in his power, both by Speeches and Messages inflamed the Assembly to that Degree, that they passed a Vote that some part of the Widow Penn's Instructions were contradictory to, and an infringement of the Libertys and Privileges by Charter granted to the People of this Province.

He has continued ever since, notoriously to decry the right of the Proprietor's Family and Expose the Commissioners of Property, and sending his Emissarys about to get Petitions in his Favour from the people, denys the Authority of Mr Penn's Family, and is Endeavouring to deprive them of both the Governm^{t} and Property of the 3 Lower Counties.

Coll Spottwood upon his arrival in England (Mrs Penn being indispos'd) deliver'd S^{r} William's Letters to

and afterwards at a Meeting with two of her Sons, insisted on S^{r} William's being continued in his Governm^{t}, and he would undertake S^{r} William should have a due regard to their Instructions, but upon their declining to give him any Assurance of his continuance, he then told them that if they proceeded to remove S^{r} William from the Governm^{t} of Pensylvania, he had something in his power which he got at New York that he would put in Execution much to our prejudice.

The whole Family receiving daily Accounts from Pensylvania of the Governour's continuing to Act in direct opposition to their Interest, and to persecute some of the Commiss^{rs} of Property, did agree that Springet Penn the Heir at Law, should, with the consent and advice of the said Mrs. Penn, Commissionate Major Gordon to be Deputy Governour of Pensylvania, the Earl Powlet having declin'd acting, tho' requested by both sides of the Family, untill the Controversy about the Will of the late Proprietor be determin'd.

The said Major Gordon is accordingly commissionated by Springet Penn, and on Saturday last was presented by Petition to the King in Council for his Majesty's Royall approbation, in the same manner as it has been allways granted, which was opposed by two Petitions, one from Col. Spotswood on behalf of S^{r} William, and another from S^{r} William's Creditors.

N. B. Tho' paper money has been made in New England, N. Y., and Carolina, yet it was always on pretence to pay publick debts contracted in some Indian Warr, or to support some warr against y^{e} ffrench or Indians, neither of which ever happen'd in Pensylvania.

Note to page 38 *by Gov^{r} Hamilton.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

APPOINTED TO EXAMINE

THE MINUTE BOOK

OF

The Society for Political Enquiries.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, March 18, 1829.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE, &c.

To the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The committee appointed to examine the Minute Book of the "Society for Political Inquiries," have the pleasure of presenting the result of the attention they have given to the duty assigned them in the following report.

The history of any endeavour to increase the stock of useful knowledge, and to promote the welfare of the human race, is interesting, as it displays the action of the nobler principles of the nature of man. The importance of the particular enterprise, the character of those engaged in it, the time and circumstances, may all conspire to excite additional interest. In reviewing the history of our own country, it is grateful to contemplate, not only the public acts of men whom we have been accustomed to revere, but also the schemes upon which their minds have been employed, during the intervals of official and professional occupations: to perceive how patriotism and the love of knowledge animated their friendly intercourse, and prompted them to form associations for the advancement of science and the benefit of their fellow citizens.

The society, whose records have been committed to us for examination, was instituted but a few years after the

efforts of our fathers to maintain the independence they had asserted, had been crowned with success. The storm of war had passed, and had left all serene and pure. The American people looked around upon the fair scene of political happiness presented to their view, delighting in the possession of its enjoyment, and indulging brilliant anticipations of the future. But some of the more reflecting, not satisfied with a moment of joy, nor with imaginations that might lead to disappointment, felt anxious to secure the permanence of the blessings they had obtained, and by progressive improvement to render the happiness of the nation more perfect.

Such were those who originated this association. They felt the importance of understanding fully their new condition, and of acquiring such information as would enable them to guard against unseen dangers. It was not enough, in their opinion, that the rule of a foreign power had been cast off. The following extracts from the preamble of their constitution well express their sentiments and motives.

"Accustomed," say they, "to look up to those nations from whom we have derived our origin, for our laws, our opinions, and our manners; we have retained, with undistinguishing reverence, their errors with their improvements; have blended with our public institutions the policy of dissimilar countries; and have grafted on an infant commonwealth, the manners of ancient and corrupted monarchies."

"In having effected a separate government, we have yet accomplished but a partial independence. The revolution can only be said to be complete, when we shall have freed ourselves, no less from the influence of foreign prejudices than from the fetters of foreign power; when, breaking through the bounds in which a dependent people have been

accustomed to think and act, we shall properly comprehend the character we have assumed, and adopt those maxims of policy which are suited to our new situation."

With these views they associated for the purpose of "mutual improvement in the knowledge of government and the advancement of political science." The objects of the association were proposed to be attained by receiving and causing to be read at the meetings, essays, statements of facts, and observations relating to subjects of government and political economy; and by discussing in conversation political queries suggested by the members.

As an inducement to men of talent and information to bestow attention upon subjects of this kind, it was provided by an article of the Constitution, that "medals should be adjudged, at the discretion of the society, to the authors (whether members or not) of the best essays, upon such subjects as the society may propose for that purpose. The votes in these cases to be taken by ballot." A successful competitor for a medal, if not a member, was also to be admitted of course to honorary membership.

The first meeting was held at the City tavern, on the 9th February, 1787, when "laws and regulations for their government" were adopted and subscribed by the gentlemen present. Several of those whose signatures appear in the minute-book, were not original members, but were elected after the organization of the society. In the list are included the names of forty-two gentlemen, generally men of great respectability, and some of them distinguished citizens of Philadelphia: there are now living but five of the number, among whom is the venerable President of the Historical Society.

The first officers, elected on the same evening when the constitution was adopted, were Dr. Benjamin Franklin,

president; George Climer and William Bingham, vice presidents; Robert Hare, treasurer; William Bradford and George Fox, secretaries. The committee of papers chosen at the same time consisted of Benjamin Rush, John Armstrong, William Bradford, Francis Hopkinson, W. T. Franklin, and William Rawle. After the first meeting, the society, at the president's request, met at his residence, and their sessions were held every Friday fortnight from September to June.

Between the time of the society's organization and the close of its first session, a number of papers, upon subjects of great interest, were presented. We notice on the minutes the titles which follow.

March 9th. ' An Enquiry into the influence of Public Punishments, upon criminals and society." By Dr. Rush.

April 20th. " An Enquiry into the best means of encouraging Immigration, consistently with the happiness and safety of the original citizens." By Mr. Rawle.

" An Essay on the Balance of Trade." By Mr. John Williams.

" An Essay on the Incorporations of Towns." By Mr. Paine.

May 11. " An Enquiry into the Principles on which a Commercial System for the U. States of America should be founded." By Mr. T. Coxe.

May 25th. " An Essay upon the Advantages resulting to a nation from the cheerful temper of its Inhabitants." By Rev. N. Collins.

On one evening during this period, it appears, a discussion of queries proposed by the president took place; but what these queries were, we are not informed. Besides the reading of essays and discussion of questions, conversation occupied a portion of the time at the meetings.

The first meeting in the fall, at which any business of moment was transacted, was on the 9th Nov. when there was proposed for discussion a question which might be made a subject of serious consideration at the present time, viz.

" What is the extent of the liberty of the press consistent with public utility? If it should have limits, what are they? Is the liberty of attacking private character in the newspapers of any utility to society?" This was the subject of conversation at the next meeting.

On the 14th Dec. 1787, the society resolved to select questions for prize essays, and to offer as a premium to each successful competitor, a plate of gold of the value of ten guineas, with a suitable device and inscription. One question was immediately agreed on: " What is the best system of taxation for constituting a revenue, in a commercial, agricultural and manufacturing country?" A second was proposed and at first approved, but the form in which it should be expressed became the subject of debate at several subsequent meetings; and was not finally determined until the 9th May, when it was passed as follows: " How far may the interposition of government be advantageously directed to the regulation of agriculture, manufactures and commerce?"

Whilst the prize questions attracted the principal attention of the society, other subjects were occasionally introduced. A conversation was held on the question, " whether the study of the Latin and Greek languages is proper in the degree in which it is now pursued?" The minutes do not state who was the proposer, but he was probably Dr. Rush. The only essay noticed during this session, was one by Dr. Collin on " the Means of promoting Industry."

A committee appointed to prepare an advertisement announcing the questions for premiums and the terms of

competition, reported 9th May, and the secretary was directed to have their report inserted in two public newspapers, in the " Magazine" and in the " Museum."

The conditions were to this effect. 1. The essays to be written in English, French, or German. 2. To be transmitted on or before the 1st Jan. 1789 to the president, with a sealed letter containing the author's name and residence—the essay and letter being distinguished by a motto, &c. 3. All communications from candidates to be referred to a committee, who shall select those they may deem the most proper to be laid before the society at large. 4. The society, at an appointed time, to adjudge the premiums, after determining by vote whether any of the essays then under consideration are deserving. 5. No member who may be a competitor, or who shall not have previously considered the comparative merits of the several essays, shall vote in awarding the premiums. 6. Letters accompanying rejected essays to be returned unopened. 7. Premiums to be oval plates of standard gold of ten guineas value, having on one side a device and motto, on the other an inscription of a suitable kind, with the date, &c.

The third session commenced in Oct. 1788, but the members were remiss in attendance, and seem to have lost much of their zeal, or to have had their attention drawn to other matters: this was evinced by a proposal to make the meetings less frequent.

Two essays, one in German, the other in English, by competitors for the premiums, were laid before the society on the 13th Feb. 1789. The latter had been published before the society's advertisement had issued, and for that cause its consideration was postponed. The former was referred to a committee for the purpose of being translated, and upon the gentlemen appointed declining to undertake the

task, the secretary was authorised to employ a translator. Dr. Collin was requested to revise the translation when completed, and a special meeting was ordered to take place when the essay should be ready for the consideration of the society. Under date 9th May, we find the minute following: "The translation of the German essays was produced, and the first read through. Mr. Weiss's bill was then taken under consideration; the charge declared exorbitant; and the secretary desired to inform him, that the society look upon it as such, and cannot think of giving more than eight dollars."

"Adjourned to"

Thus abruptly terminate the minutes. We have no further account of the fate of either the German or English essay. The society had been for some time languishing, and expired in the burst of indignation against the exorbitance of Mr. Weiss. But though the circumstances of the times caused the dissolution of the association, many of its members individually continued to prosecute inquiries in political economy; and have, through the medium of the press, and in legislative debates, contributed to enlighten and to benefit their fellow citizens, whose welfare had been the object of their union.

March 18th, 1829.

George W. Smith.
William B. Davidson.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

EARLY POETS AND POETRY

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY

JOSHUA FRANCIS FISHER.

"Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque Poetæ."
MART.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, July 15, 1829.

Some Account

OF THE

EARLY POETS AND POETRY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

"Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque Poetæ."—Mart.

In the following account of the early poetry of Pennsylvania, I have endeavoured to collect all the facts still extant which can illustrate this interesting department of our literary history. Although I have had access to but few sources of information, I shall at least be able to present a longer catalogue of poets than has yet been published, and to mention several productions which have met with unmerited neglect.

It was, at first, my intention to select specimens from the poems of each author, and to copy some of the best anonymous pieces which from time to time appeared in the periodicals; but the present paper may be considered too long even without these extracts; and perhaps, its object will be best answered by directing the attention of others to the original publications from which every native Pennsylvanian cannot fail to derive a high gratification.*

* I must therefore observe, in justice to the memory of our early poets, as well as to my own taste, that the verses which may be quoted in the following pages, have been selected only as illustrative of the narrative, and are in no instance to be considered as specimens of our best provincial poetry.

The cultivation of poetry seems, at least in the British race, the strongest evidence of refinement. Among them, it was not the growth of a barbarous age, and it never was the pleasure of the humble. To discover, therefore, amongst our colonists a taste for poetry, will do much to vindicate their claim to literary advancement and intellectual refinement. That this taste existed, is to be proved, not so much by adducing one or two brilliant displays of genius, as by naming numerous and successive efforts, which, although only partially successful in their day, and altogether unworthy at the present of our admiration, establish nevertheless the fact of the constant cultivation of the art; and assure us that the best poetry of England was sought for, read, admired, and imitated, not only frequently, but constantly by men who have been stigmatized as unpolished, illiterate, and rude.

The first twenty years of our colonial history produced, it is probable, but little poetry—nothing which deserves the name has descended to us. The exalted and cultivated minds of some of the first settlers were no doubt often possessed with sublime imaginations, inspired by the native grandeur of the wilderness; or, when recollecting the beautiful homes of their youth, were filled with tender emotions nearly allied to poetry—but their duties were imperious, the hours spared from private labour were engrossed by public affairs; and, while we thank them for the institutions they have established, we must regret that little remains of theirs but an honourable name.

But the second generation, relieved from the toils of settlement in the forest—reposing under liberal establishments and laws framed by the enlightened wisdom of the founder and his companions—and reaping plenty from rich and beautiful fields cleared by the labour of their fathers—first, turned their eyes to Heaven in thankfulness, and then to Par-

nassus for inspiration to celebrate the beauty and delights of their happy country. Although it cannot be denied, that the tuneful inhabitants of that sacred hill rarely descended into the green valleys of our province, or that

erubuit sylvas habitare Thalia;

still their smiles were not altogether withheld from their rustic votaries, and this was quite encouragement enough. During the early part of the 18th century, several poets flourished in Pennsylvania, whose lines merited the approbation of their contemporaries. Few of these productions are now to be discovered, and those which are found in print were, it is probable, by no means the best. We must look for them in the Almanacs—a strange place to seek for poetry —but at that early day they were the only publications to which rhymes could obtain admittance; and certainly never since have Almanacs been embellished with better verses. They are for the most part greatly deficient in poetic graces, but some of them may certainly with justice be commended for sprightliness and ease.

The want of a periodical sheet was felt by those modest geniuses, who, not confident of the intrinsic merit of their pieces, would have been happy to trust to the generosity of the public an unfathered offspring, which might not obtain favour for an acknowledged author.

The invitations of the editors of our two earliest newspapers were eagerly accepted by a score of nameless sons of Apollo. Scarcely a week passed that some new attempt at rhyming was not made; or, to speak more appropriately, that our ancestors did not hear some young Orpheus beginning to take lessons on the lyre. These first strains certainly were not always melodious. The first poetry of Pennsylvania may generally be characterised as inelegant,

unharmonious, and spiritless; yet, there were several brilliant exceptions, which surprise us by their sweetness and vivacity, and were beyond a doubt the productions of cultivated and refined minds. There are many verses which would not discredit any English author of the last century, and still may be read with pleasure; and although, perhaps, they have not enough of originality or brilliancy to deserve a reproduction in an age overstocked with all the lighter kinds of literature, may certainly be noticed with satisfaction, and referred to with pride.

The earliest rhythmical production of our province which was committed to print; at least, the first of which we have any notice, has the following title: "A Paraphrastical Exposition on a Letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia to his friend in Boston, concerning a certain person who compared himself to Mordecai." It was printed in the year 1693, in a small quarto of eight pages. It is to be regretted that neither the name of the author nor of the printer is attached. The piece is of extreme rarity, and all the criticism that I am able to furnish is, "That it was a bitter attack upon Samuel Jennings, and that the lines are destitute of the spirit and almost without the form of poetry."

In James Logan's defence of his conduct against the charges of the assembly, which he wrote previous to his embarkation for England in 1709, I find mention of a William Rakestraw, who, two years before (1707), had published "several scurrilous libels and *rhymes* against the proprietor" and his secretary, for which he was judicially sentenced "to make satisfaction." Of these libellous rhymes we have no further notice, and their recovery I presume is not to be hoped for.

We are indebted to Mr. John Parke, an officer of Washington's army, and a gentleman of classical acquirements

and cultivated taste, for the preservation of a poetic translation of some of Anacreon's Odes, and of two of Ovid's Elegies, "by the learned and facetious DAVID FRENCH, Esquire, late of Delaware Counties" (now state.) "They had been consigned," says Mr. Parke, "to oblivion through the obliterating medium of rats and moths, under the sequestered canopy of an antiquated trunk." Some of them were written as early as 1718, and are therefore amongst the earliest, as they are of the best colonial poetry we are likely to discover. They are, undoubtedly, the composition of a man of learning and of taste. They discover a familiar acquaintance with the classical authors, and are so elegant and fluent in their style, that we cannot but believe Mr. French to have been a practised writer of English poetry. Fame, however, has been for once unjust, and posterity has none of his original verses to admire.

All that I find of his history is contained in the following postscript of a letter dated August 25th, 1742: "David French was buried yesterday in Chester church by the side of his father, and Mr. Moxon succeeds him as prothonotary" (of the court at New Castle.) His father was, doubtless, Col. John French, a gentleman very distinguished in the lower counties, and whose name frequently occurs in our early annals.

AQUILA ROSE has been often named as one of the first who gained reputation as a poet in Pennsylvania. He was an Englishman by birth. At an early age, and in great poverty, he emigrated to this province, where he found employment and a wife. He was the principal workman in Bradford's printing office, and was clerk to the assembly when he died, the 24th of the 4th month (June) 1723, aged 28 years. Franklin says, "he was an ingenious young man, and of an excellent character, highly esteemed in the town,

and also a very tolerable poet." It may be regretted that although, in the words of one of his admirers, we have received

> " his name,
> Preserved to late posterity by fame,"

we have no opportunity to judge of his verses. Keimer, in his elegy, says that he was master of

> " The French and Latin, Greek and Hebrew too;"

but I cannot rely upon the eulogium given in that curious production—as I am inclined to suspect that Keimer was guided in his praises by the exigencies of his rhymes rather than by the character of his friend.

It may be considered some compensation for the loss of Aquila Rose's poetry, that his death gave occasion to no less than three Elegies which have descended to us. The first we meet with is a kind of eclogue, printed in the Mercury, June 25th, 1724, which was " done by Elias Bockett of London." It is written in what Keimer calls " a melting florid strain," but as a composition is far superior to his.

In Feb. 23d, 1723-4, another piece does honour to the memory of our poet. It is presumed that the bashfulness of some *native* Pennsylvanian introduced his " Elegy on the sight of Myris' tomb," by the following preface. " The following lines were left with the printer by an intimate friend of A. R. deceased, who, touching at Philadelphia, on his way to Great Britain, had but time to hear a relation of his friend's death, view the place of his interment, and write, without revising 'em, the following lines."

He begins with the most pathetic lamentations, and an appeal to almost every deity of antiquity. He then descends

to the dryads and naiads, and thus apostrophises our river:

> With pleasure we behold, O Delaware!
> Thy woody banks become the Muses' care,
> Thy docile youth were with her beauty fired,
> And folly, vice, and ignorance retired:
> And had but Myris lived, we hoped to see
> A new Arcadia to arise on thee.

The panegyric on Myris is very extravagant. He possessed, of course, every virtue, and his poems every grace. We might do the latter more than justice, were we to credit all the encomiums in this elegy. "Love," it informs us was "Myris' favourite theme;" and although his poetry was no doubt "able to persuade the fair" of our then rural city, it might run the risk of being pronounced by our more fastidious tastes rather pretty than "elegant," more affected than "tender."

The well known elegy of Keimer's, remarkable as having never been written but "set in types, as the verses flowed from his muse," may be read with some amusement—and we may derive from it some curious traits of early manners. It has lately been reprinted, and deserved it as a curiosity.

Samuel Keimer was a remarkable character; and although his history is familiar to every one who has read Franklin's delightful auto-biography, he is not to be passed unnoticed in an account of our early poets.

Little is known of his early life. He promised in one of his publications "to present to the world for its entertainment an account of his sufferings under the character of 'the white negro,'" but soon afterwards he quitted the province, and probably never accomplished the work. He received, if we may believe himself, a learned education—and in a very scurrilous piece printed in the Mercury, January,

1726, Jacob Taylor particularly ridicules his charlatanism and boasting, and thus addresses him: "Thy constant care and labour is to be thought a finished philosopher and universal scholar, never forgetting to talk of the Greek, and Hebrew, and other oriental tongues, as if they were as natural to thee as hooting to an owl." He learnt the business of a compositor in London, and was for some time established there as a printer. But he appears to have been unfortunate in trade, and over-burthened with the support of a wife. During the great excitement which the preaching of the first Methodists produced in Great Britain, he became as one of "the French prophets," an unsuccessful rival of those preachers who were destined to effect the most extensive schism which has ever mortified the church of England. He was equally unfortunate in his new employment. He suffered with his fellow-impostors, and was glad to escape from his wife and persecution together in a vessel bound to Philadelphia. Here he arrived, it is probable, late in the year 1731—and the first notice we have of him is an advertisement of February 5th, 1722, which I shall quote entire: for, whether it were, as his enemies asserted, that his only object was notoriety, or that he was really actuated by benevolent motives, the first attempt to elevate the character, and meliorate the condition of an oppressed race, well deserves to be recorded.

"Take notice.—There is lately arrived in this city, a person who freely offers his service to teach his poor brethren the **Male Negroes** to read the Holy Scriptures, &c. in a very *uncommon*, *expeditious*, and *delightful manner*, without any manner of expense to their respective masters or mistresses. All serious persons, whether *Roman Catholics*, *Episcopalians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Water-Baptists*, or people called *Quakers*, who are truly concerned for their sal-

vation, may advise with the said person at his lodgings (relating to the time and place of his so instructing them) at the dwelling-house of *John Read*, carpenter, in *High street*, at *Philadelphia*, every morning till eight of the clock, except on the **Seventh Day**." The advertisement ends with the following verses, which may be considered a favourable specimen of Keimer's poetry—

The Great **Jehovah** from above,
Whose *Christian Name* is **Light** and **Love**,
In all his Works *will* take Delight,
And wash poor *Hagar's* **Black Moors** white.

Let none condemn this undertaking
By *silent thoughts*, or *noisy speaking*;
They 're fools whose bolt's soon shot upon
The mark they 've looked but little on.

Whether he carried his scheme into execution, I have not been able to discover; he certainly kept it in view three years afterwards: for, from some wretched rhymes which form part of the piece of Taylor's above referred to, it seems he was at that time making application for a room in which to teach his black pupils—on which occasion, he is thus assailed by his enemy—

A school for thee! a most commodious place
To nod, and wink, and point with such a grace—
Thy black disciples, now immerged in folly,
Shall start our clerks, and read, and speak like Tully:
The preference to the sable sort belongs:
The white man next must learn the sacred tongues.
Thus, in just order are thy legions led
To realms of science, *Keimer* at their head.

Through his whole sojourn in our province, he seems to have been borne down by poverty and disasters—and the

constant object of ridicule. In a paragraph of his paper, written after his release from prison, to which he had been dragged from his bed by his creditors, he gives the following account of his persecutions by calumny and misfortunes. "It certainly must be allowed somewhat strange, that a person of strict sincerity, refined justice, and universal love to the whole creation, should, for a series of near 20 years, be the constant butt of slander, as to be three times ruined as a master printer, to be nine times in prison, one of which was six years together, and often reduced to the most wretched circumstances, hunted as a partridge upon the mountains, and persecuted with the most abominable lies the devil himself could invent or malice utter; and yet all this while never any wise, good, or even honest man has been his enemy, or knew any evil of him, bating the little mistakes or peccadilloes of human nature." With all these professions, it must be believed that he was a knave at heart; and yet he turned his knavery to little account; for as long as we can trace his history, he was equally wretched, and when he fled from Barbadoes he was again a bankrupt. Franklin tells an anecdote of Keimer so characteristic of them both, that I shall, I am sure, be excused for quoting it. "He formed," says Franklin, "so high an opinion of my talents for refutation, that he seriously proposed to me to become his colleague in the establishment of a new religious sect. He was to propagate the doctrine by preaching, and I to refute every opponent.

"When he explained to me his tenets, I found many absurdities which I refused to admit, unless he would agree in turn to adopt some of my opinions. Keimer wore his beard long, because Moses had some where said, 'Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard.' He likewise observed the Sabbath; and these were with him two very essential points.

I disliked them both; but I consented to adopt them, provided he would agree to abstain from animal food. I doubt, said he, whether my constitution will be able to support it. I assured him on the contrary, that he would find himself the better for it. He was naturally a glutton, and I wished to amuse myself by starving him. He consented to make trial of this regimen, if I would bear him company; and in reality we continued it for three months. I continued it cheerfully; poor Keimer suffered terribly. Tired of the project, he sighed for the flesh-pots of Egypt. At length he ordered a roast pig, and invited me and two of our female acquaintances to dine with him; but the pig being ready a little too soon, he could not resist the temptation, and eat it all up before we arrived."

I have noticed several of Keimer's rhythmical productions. Several other pieces remain, but they are beneath criticism.

That Benjamin Franklin was the author of verses, is somewhat surprising, for there has, perhaps, rarely existed a genius less poetical than his. The only one of his pieces deserving any commendation which I have seen, is a kind of jeu d'esprit, entitled "Paper." Those who recollect it, need not be told that even this is not very remarkable for its poetry or its wit. In his autobiography he speaks of some ballads which he wrote when a boy, and an examination of his almanacs would reward the search with a number of short pieces by our philosopher, which, though they have very small pretensions, have certainly as little merit. The mind of Dr. Franklin was, without doubt, richly endowed with useful qualities; but it possessed no imagination and little enthusiasm; and had he been ambitious of the fame of a poet, he could only have diminished his reputation as a moralist and a philosopher.

The name of JACOB TAYLOR has already been mentioned. He is supposed to have been originally a printer; for, in the year 1712, he was sent for by the House of Representatives, and consulted about printing the laws. He afterwards kept a mathematical school in this city; and, it is said, was at the same time a successful practitioner of physic. He was at one time Surveyor General of the province—but appears to have soon retired from office, and during the latter part of his life was a resident in Chester county.

His chief reputation was as an almanac maker, and before the publication of Franklin's well known production, his almanac was the best and most popular of several issued by the Philadelphia press. In his Ephemeris for 1736, when he was in extreme old age, he says, "It is now forty years since I published astronomical calculations, which I have frequently continued, but not without several intermissions." He died shortly after the publication of this almanac. I have already quoted some lines of Taylor's which formed part of an attack on Keimer, who had, without authority from the former, affixed his name to what he denominates "a filthy foolish pamphlet called a compleat Ephemeris." He continues his attack on Keimer with any thing but the calmness of an astronomer; and he, perhaps, surpasses the poor printer in what he calls his "matchless talent at scandal, without a grain of common sense or modesty." Taylor appears to have been the contributor not only of the astronomical calculations, but of the poetic embellishments of the almanacs published under his name; and some of the pieces have considerable merit—but his imagination does not seem to have caught from his favourite study any high degree of inspiration—for its flights were never remarkable for their vigour or sublimity.

Some of his verses were, however, neither rude nor inelegant, and in harmony and spirit nearly approached to the poetry of standard authors. The longest of his pieces is entitled "*Pennsylvania*," and was published in 1728. It may be considered one of the best descriptive poems which the beauties and blessings of our province inspired. In the "Story of Whackum," he ridicules in a lively manner the country quacks, who, in spite of the increase of regular physicians, retained their influence amongst the illiterate vulgar. And in another poem, which is one of his best, he attacks the professors of judicial astrology, of whom it seems there were several in the colony. To "Bachelor's hall," a poem by George Webb, are prefixed some of Taylor's verses in praise of its author—but they have little merit. I shall add some lines, written by a contemporary, containing a character of our astronomer's poetry—though I am not satisfied that the criticism is just—

> With years oppress'd and compass'd round with woes,
> A muse with fire fraught yet Taylor's shows;
> His fancy's bold, harmonious are his lays,
> And were he more correct he'd reach the bays.

These lines are part of a satirical production, entitled "the Wits and Poets of Pennsylvania." Part I. which was printed in the Mercury, April 1731. The author unfortunately was afraid to subscribe his name, and we have still more to regret that he speaks of five only of his fellow-votaries of the Muses. The poem itself holds a respectable place among the native productions of the day—and I shall make use of it in my notice of the three following bards.

The first poet in this catalogue, is Joseph Brientnall—a scrivener by profession, and a respectable member of the society of Friends. He was, I believe, the first secretary of

the City Library Company, and is named amongst the earliest members of the Junto. In his account of that club, Franklin thus describes him. "He was a middle aged man, of a good natural disposition, strongly attached to his friends, a great lover of poetry, reading every thing that came in his way, and writing tolerably well, ingenious in many little trifles, and of an agreeable conversation." He continued, in a creditable manner, the essays of the Busy Body, of which Franklin had written the first five—and we may, I presume, attribute to him the rhymed description of Market street which forms part of the 18th No. Some verses to the author of Bachelor's Hall are the only other poem of Brientnall's I can discover, and it justifies the following character given by his brother poet:—

> For choice of diction I should Brientnall choose,
> For just conceptions and a ready muse;
> Yet is that muse too laboured and prolix,
> And seldom on the wing knows where to fix.
> So strictly regular is every rise,
> His poems lose the beauty of surprise,
> In this his flame is like a kitchen fire,
> We see the billets cast which mount it higher.

George Webb was distinguished as a poet in his day. He seems to have been patronised by the gentlemen of fashion, and his poem of "Bachelor's hall" was written in a sense of gratitude to the members of a celebrated club which met at an edifice in the neighbourhood of the Treaty tree, and which had the reputation of any thing but morality among the quiet inhabitants of our city. Webb in his poem vindicates the society of bachelors from the charge of debauchery, and claims for their hall the character of a temple of science and virtue.

Tis not the revel, or lascivious night,
That to this hall the bachelors invite;
Much less shall impious doctrines here be taught;
Blush, ye accusers, at the very thought!
For other, O! far other ends designed,
To mend the heart and cultivate the mind.

It is altogether a very creditable performance. It consists of about one hundred lines, and was printed in folio and sold at the new printing office (Franklin's) MDCCXXXI. Webb published in 1728 a short poem in praise of Pennsylvania —and many of the best pieces in the Universal Instructor and Pennsylvania Gazette were, without doubt, written by him—as he was engaged in that publication with Keimer, but I have not been able to identify any of them.

I can neither add to, nor improve the history of George Webb as given by Dr. Franklin, and I therefore quote the following: " He was an Oxford scholar" " whose service Keimer had purchased for four years, intending him for a compositor." " He was then not more than eighteen years of age, and the following are the particulars he gave me of himself. Born at Gloucester, he had been educated at a grammar school, and had distinguished himself among the scholars by his superior style of acting, when they represented dramatic performances. He was member of a literary club in the town ; and some pieces of his composition, in prose as well as verse, had been inserted in the Gloucester papers. From hence he was sent to Oxford, where he remained about a year; but he was not contented, and wished to see London, and become an actor. At length having received fifteen guineas to pay his quarter's board, he decamped with the money from Oxford, hid his gown in a hedge, and travelled to London. There, having no friend to direct him, he fell into bad company, soon squandered his fifteen guineas, could find no way of being

introduced to the actors, became contemptible, pawned his clothes, and was in want of bread. As he was walking along the streets, almost famished with hunger, and not knowing what to do, a recruiting bill was put into his hand, which offered an immediate treat and bounty money to whoever was disposed to serve in America. He instantly repaired to the house of rendezvous, enlisted himself, was put on board a ship and conveyed to America, without ever writing a line to inform his parents what was become of him. His mental vivacity and good natural disposition, made him an excellent companion, but he was indolent, thoughtless, and to the last degree imprudent." He afterwards, by the assistance of a friend, was enabled to purchase his time, and became interested with his former master in the paper which soon afterwards fell into Franklin's hands. He is named amongst the original members of the Junto—but we have no further notice of his existence. I quote from the same anonymous piece, the following character of Webb:

> Surely the Muse hath ranged the distant spheres,
> And when the Gods were speaking cock't her ears;
> Heard the decrees of thunder-flinging Jove,
> And then came back and told us all for love:
> 'Twas *George's* Muse rang'd this unbidden track,
> *Webb* who like *Banloft 's** famed for the best hack;
> For through the piece poetic genius shines,
> When thoughts sublime meet in harmonious lines:
> Where bounding *Pegasus* with loosened rein,
> Proud of the course, shewed a well ordered flame.
> Pleased with the event a second heat he try'd,
> And soar'd, 'tis true, but with a lessened pride.
> Some say he got a most confounded fall,
> And snapt a leg or two against "the Hall,"
> Which the Chimeroans [Cimmerians?] seeing eased his pain,
> By paper stamp'd and set all right again.

* William Banloft, a noted stable keeper.

The poet next notices another of his fellow citizens of Parnassus in a strain of satire, which, though really witty, is not quite sufficiently delicate for modern ears. As the person is not named, and I have been unable to discover any verses to which the character is applicable, I do not hesitate to omit it. The poem concludes with the following lines:

> In Brooke's capacious breast the Muses sit,
> Enrobed with sense polite and poignant wit;
> His lines run smoothly though the current' s strong;
> He forms with ease, with judgment sings the song.
> As th' awful elm supports the purpling vines,
> So round his sense his sprightly wit entwines:
> Oh! would he oft'ner write, so should the town
> Or mend their tastes, or lay the Muses down;
> For, after manna who would garbage eat,
> That hath a spark of sense or grain of wit?

The subject of this exalted encomium was Mr. Henry Brooke, a young gentleman of high talents and of finished education. He is said to have been a younger son of Sir Henry Brooke, Bart, and was provided for by a settlement at Lewistown, Sussex county, as collector of the customs. Of his separation from his friends and seclusion from polished society he constantly complains in a series of letters to James Logan, distinguished for their elegance and sprightliness. The only specimen of Brooke's poetry which I have met with is entitled "A Discourse on Jests." It is addressed to Mr. Robert Grace, whom Franklin describes as "a young man of fortune, generous, animated, and witty, fond of epigrams, but more fond of his friends." It rallies him on the subject of "his darling bosome sin a jest" with much good sense and good humour. It may be pronounced a sprightly and pleasant treatise on false wit, and proves its author to have been not only an imitator of good models, but himself

the possessor of a lively wit and a refined taste. Mr. Brooke became very eminent in the lower counties, was for several years Speaker of their assembly, and, in 1720, was appointed a Master in Chancery by Sir W. Keith. He died in 1735, in the 57th year of his age, and the General Magazine of 1741 contains a poetic tribute to his memory, which describes him as an accomplished linguist, and an adept in almost every science.

I must not omit the names of three early friends of Dr. Franklin, who seem to have dedicated some of their hours to the Muses; although the productions of two of them are not now to be discovered, and perhaps did not merit preservation.

"My most intimate acquaintances," says he, "were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph, young men who were all fond of reading. The two first were clerks to Mr. Charles Brockden, one of the principal attorneys of the town; the other clerk to a merchant.

Watson was an upright, pious, and sensible young man: the others were somewhat more loose in their principles of religion, particularly Ralph, whose faith, as well as that of Collins, I had contributed to shake; each of whom made me suffer a very adequate punishment.

Osborne was sensible and sincere, and affectionate in his friendships, but too much inclined to the critic in matters of literature.

Ralph was ingenious and shrewd, genteel in his address, and extremely eloquent. I do not remember to have met with a more agreeable speaker. They were both enamoured of the Muses, and had already evinced their passion by some small poetical productions."

This account introduces an agreeable description of their literary recreations in the retirement of "the woods which

border the Schuylkill, where they read together, and afterwards conversed on what they read." He gives a lively sketch of their poetical competitions, which fixed Ralph at least, in his resolution of becoming a poet. The subsequent history of Ralph, as told by Dr. Franklin, contains some anecdotes which do no great honour to either of them. They went to England together in 1724. There Ralph applied himself professionally to literature, but his choice proved an unfortunate one, and talents which might have gained him high reputation in our province, were overlooked in the British metropolis. Between the years 1730 and 1745 he published several plays, some of which were acted at Drury Lane, but without even a temporary success. The names of four of them are "The Fashionable Lady," "Fall of the Earl of Essex," "The Lawyer's Feast," and "The Astrologer." Depending for his support on these exertions he was constantly disappointed and always in want, and his letters dated at this period were written in all the bitterness of mortification and penury. As a political writer he was somewhat more successful. He was the editor of several scurrilous periodicals, and was a distinguished member of the corps of scribblers who incessantly attacked the measures of the administration. He acted for some time as a partisan of Mr. Doddington, afterwards Lord Melbourne, and enjoyed, it is said, the confidence of the Prince of Wales, then in the ranks of the opposition. But his pen had its price, and was finally purchased or paralysed by a handsome bribe from Mr. Pelham.

In the last literary production of Ralph, "The Case of Authors stated, with regard to Booksellers, the Stage, and the Public," he has described with success the ills and disappointments which he seems to have encountered, and represents the profession of an author as the last a noble and

liberal mind ought to select. Even then, perhaps, he did not suppose that a diligent inquiry for his works would be rewarded only with their titles. The names of some of his poetical efforts are "Zeuma," "Clarinda," "The Muse's Address," &c. A poem called "Sawney," drew down upon him the satire of Pope, embittered perhaps by political animosity; and another piece published some time before, entitled "Night," is referred to by him in the caustic but elegant couplet,—

> Silence, ye wolves, whilst Ralph to Cynthia howls,
> Making Night hideous—answer him, ye owls!

The reputation of Ralph as an historian is more honourable; his history of the reigns of William, Anne, and George the First, gained for him, from Fox, the character "of great acuteness as well as diligence," and is pronounced by Hallam to be the most accurate and faithful history of those times. The folios of this work are not often opened, but they have a place in all our libraries, where they remain the only monument of this early poet of Pennsylvania.

James Ralph died at Chiswick in 1762. If he did not possess the genius of a poet, he at least exhibited talent as a political writer of no mean order. He is praised by his contemporaries for his great application, and is said to have made himself master of the French and Latin, and to have had some knowledge of the Italian language. It is not surprising that his integrity as a writer did not withstand the temptation of a bribe, and his fault is perhaps palliated by his poverty, and the frequent examples of his contemporaries.

Contemporary with most of the writers I have mentioned, was William Satterthwaithe, an Englishman by birth, and a man of considerable learning. He is said to have

received collegiate honours, but this is improbable; and the humble station of a village schoolmaster is rarely the lot of a graduate at either of the sister universities. A female pupil was once benighted on her road homewards, he offered her the hospitality of his school-house, and the evening was long enough for their courtship and marriage. The imprudence of the step soon struck them, and they sailed for Pennsylvania in quest of better fortune. They settled in Bucks county, where Satterthwaithe resumed his old employment; but he still was persecuted by fortune; and his poverty was rendered even more bitter by the ill temper of his wife, who, it is said, on one occasion, attempted to poison him. But he sustained his ills with equanimity, and was in the end rewarded; for, it is said, he at last became easy in his circumstances, and his old age was rendered comfortable by the generosity of a patron. This patron was Jeremiah Langhorne, a gentleman of excellent talents, and of liberal mind, who was for many years distinguished in the provincial assembly, filled several of the highest offices, and succeeded James Logan as chief justice.

Several of Satterthwaithe's poems have been transmitted to us; one, denominated "Mysterious Nothing," was written in 1738, at the instance of several young ladies. It is neither witty nor original, but is deficient neither in ease nor in harmony. It was, I believe, republished some years afterwards, and with it was printed "An Elegy on the Death of Jeremiah Langhorne," and a poem on "Providence." He also wrote another piece, entitled "A Religious Allegory of Life and Futurity, addressed to the Youth." His poems, generally, are commendable for the pious sentiments and amiable feelings which run through them. They cannot lay claim to great brilliancy or elegance, but they show their

author to have been an admirer and imitator of the purest models, the poetry of Homer and Virgil.

Every person who has looked through the early numbers of the Mercury, and of the Pennsylvania Gazette, must have noticed several salutatory and panegyrical odes addressed to our Governors and other great men of the province, which have a family rudeness and vulgarity even below the usual mediocrity of similar pieces, and which may, I suppose, be safely attributed to the first *Professional Poet* our country produced. This was JOHN DOMMETT, of whom the only knowledge we possess is derived from an elegy to his memory, printed in the Mercury of July 26th, 1738. The genius of its author was akin to that of the deceased. In strains altogether worthy of him, it praises his wit and good humour, and the fecundity of his muse; but gives him the character of a drunkard, whose wretched life was sustained, and whose vices were encouraged by the bounty of those, to the praise of whom he had devoted his pen. He died at Whitemarsh, July 22d, 1729; and in an epitaph, a postscript to the elegy I have mentioned, the features of his character and fortune are thus summed up :—

> Wealthy whilst rum he had, was John, yet poor
> 'Cause worth but little, rich, 'cause crav'd no more;
> Him England birth, Heaven wit, this Province gave
> Food, Indies drink, Rhymes pence, Whitemarsh a grave.

As a rhymster, the name of John Dommett merits a place in this paper, and though we must pronounce his verses to be amongst the worst which were produced in this province, we ought perhaps to recollect, that there is nothing so rarely well treated, and in which so many men of genius have failed as panegyric. Dommett appears to have written verses on a variety of subjects, but I do not know that any of them have descended to us.

The poets who have been already named in this paper, were many of them Englishmen by birth, of respectable but humble families, though frequently of extensive acquirements, who had sought in our province that competence and ease which might enable them to gratify their taste, and prosecute the studies of their youth. The rest were young Americans of the better provincial families, who, though not deeply learned, discovered in their boyish verses a tincture of the letters which their fathers had brought with them from Britain. An acquaintance with the classics of Rome, and with the popular authors of England, is undoubtedly to be inferred from these compositions; and though they lie under the usual disadvantage of imitations, they not only often emulate the ease and elegance of their models, but at times seem even to have caught no small degree of their spirit. The extent to which poetry was cultivated by our early inhabitants, and the encouragement which it received in all classes, will astonish those who have adopted the current opinions as to our primitive illiterateness; when they recollect that all this was previous to the establishment of our Library and our College, and before even the warmest admirers of Franklin can pretend that Philadelphia received that impulse in every species of improvement which is generally attributed to him. This is the more gratifying, as I do not believe there is one of us who has not been often mortified at the insinuation, that our ancestors owed their very civilization to a single stranger.

I have already mentioned the anonymous pieces which appeared in our newspapers. The merit of several of them is of a very high order; superior certainly to that of most of the acknowledged poems which were printed, and I might refer to three productions of the year 1731, entitled "A Journey from Petapsco to Annapolis," "Verses on the Art of

Printing," and "A Fable, the Dog and the Fox," with a confidence that they would do more than justify my assertion.

Several other poems of that period, prove that their authors were the possessors of most of the poetic qualifications, and well deserved the favour with which our ancestors received them.

The Latin poetry which was written in our colony is not to be passed unnoticed. I recollect but few instances where modern poetry has been able to clothe itself gracefully in Latin verses; and I am certain, I do not hazard much in asserting, that the taste of Horace or Quinctilian would not be satisfied with any modern composition in their native language. Our ignorance of many of its idiomatic niceties has been admitted by the most accomplished scholars, and always render hopeless any competition with our Roman masters; still, we must admire the fluency and accuracy which distinguish the Latin productions of many European scholars, and applaud the success of schoolboys in one of their most difficult and useful exercises. Our early Professors of *Humanity* were not behind their European brethren in their classical compositions; and, without doubt, their well used birches would often set upon their feet the stubborn hexameters of their pupils. But it is time to notice Thomas Makin. He must have been one of the earliest settlers in our colony; for, in 1689, we find him named as an usher under George Keith, in Friends' public grammar school; and in the following year, he succeeded Keith as head master. After this, he was several times chosen clerk of the provincial assembly. Of his obscure and quiet life we have few other particulars. His school in Philadelphia was not very lucrative, and he abandoned it, I believe, for one of the settlements in the interior, where

Pueros elementa docentem
Occupat extremis in vicis balba senectus.

In 1728 and 1729, he dedicated to James Logan two Latin poems, which are still in the collection of MSS. at Stenton, and "which seem to have been written," says Robert Proud, "chiefly for amusement in his old age." One is entitled "Encomium Pennsylvaniæ," and the other "In laudes Pennsylvaniæ poema, seu descriptio Pennsylvaniæ." These poems celebrate the institutions, the productions, and the scenery of our province, in alternate hexameters and pentameters, which have been called rude, but which, at least, deserve praise for metrical correctness and descriptive fidelity. Some extracts from these pieces are to be found in the 2d vol. of Robert Proud's history, who has added a translation in English rhyme.

About the year 1741 lived William Loury, the author, it is supposed, of several Latin odes which were at that time published. His history is entirely unknown, and his name would have been equally so, had it not been subscribed to a piece which has the following title—

"De morte luctuosa celeberrimi Andreæ Hamiltonis Armigeri, qui obiit iv Augusti MDCCXLI."

This was printed in the Pennsylvania Gazette of February 17th, 1742. Another piece which I am inclined to attribute to the same author, is a Carmen Gratularium to Governor Thomas, which appeared the previous year in Franklin's Universal Magazine. The poetry of these compositions I am unable to praise, for it must be admitted that their author has pronounced

"In deep parade of language dead
What would not on his own be read;"

but I should do him injustice, were I not to commend his knowledge and adaptation of the Roman idiom, which, like the weighty panoplies of our ancestors, can never again be used with gracefulness.

But by far the best Latin verses which have been published in Pennsylvania are those of Mr. JOHN BEVERIDGE. He was a native of Scotland, and taught at Edinburgh a Grammar school under the patronage of the celebrated Ruddiman. Amongst his pupils was the blind poet Thomas Blacklock, to whom he sends in some English verses his own reasons for writing poetry, and whose fine Paraphrase of the 104th Psalm he rendered into Latin verse.

It appears that he emigrated to New England in 1752, where he remained five years, and contracted friendships with the famous Dr. Jonathan Mayhew and other eminent scholars. In 1758 he was appointed Professor of Languages in the College and Academy of Philadelphia. His knowledge of Latin was accurate and profound, but he did not possess the art of teaching; and though inclined to be severe, could never command attention nor respect. Some amusing anecdotes of this learned pedagogue are to be found in Mr. Alexander Graydon's interesting memoirs. In 1765 he published by subscription a small collection of Latin poems, entitled "Epistolæ et alia quœdam miscellanea." These consisted of lyrical odes addressed to his friends in Scotland and Massachusetts, of "Carmina Gratularia" to several provincial governors, and of one or two pastorals. Of these the odes are decidedly the best; for although it is impossible to agree with one of his admirers that they prove his ability to "contend with Flaccus on the Roman Lyre," yet they are remarkably easy and lively, and will almost bear without blushing the encomium of Mr. Park, "that they *imitate* the

verses of the first of Latin poets in pureness of language and variety of versification." The panegyrical verses of Mr. Beveridge are as extravagant and inflated as any others of the same class; and, when we recollect that every follower of Theocritus has failed, we will not be surprised that the humble genius of a city schoolmaster could not accomplish even a tolerable pastoral. On the whole, the Latin verses of Beveridge are correct, and to modern ears harmonious; and if they do not prove him to have been a poet, at least do honour to him as a scholar and a man. Along with his Latin effusions are printed two pieces of his English rhyme, but these may justly share the criticism which the others have received.

In the Pennsylvania Gazette of August 2nd, 1736, is printed a Sonnet, and in that of August 12th, an Elegy on the death of Gov. Gordon, written in *French* by Mr. John Solomon. The verses are by no means extraordinary, and all that we know of their author, we learn from an advertisement of June 24th in the same year, in which he professes to be a Parisian, and offers "to teach the Latin and French languages after the most easy and concise method to the gentlemen and ladies of Philadelphia." Mr. Solomon was the third or fourth professor of the French language whom we find established in this city; a fact, which will, I think, excite astonishment when the period and the condition of our province are considered, and which must elevate our opinion of the learning and refinement of our ancestors. At the present day the French language is so universally studied, that it is hardly considered an accomplishment, but at that early period it could only have been learnt as a key to the rich treasures of its literature.

It will not, I think, be out of place to notice that the

German colonists of Pennsylvania were not all destitute of poetic talent. The learning of some of their leaders, it is well known, was extensive and profound; and though we have no reason to suppose that they often descended to amusements so unsuited to their religious gravity as the lighter kinds of poetry, we have several of their devotional effusions which are said to be fine compositions. Among them is a Book of Hymns composed by JOHN KELPIUS, the Hermit, of whom Mr. Watson, in his excellent "Notes on the early History of Germantown," gives an interesting account; and a German paraphrase of several portions of Scripture, which was published in the Pennsylvania Gazette of March 31st, 1742, and is subscribed Gottfried L., Germantown, Dec. 28. Kelpius's hymn book was translated into English verse by CHRISTOPHER WITT, a learned physician and astronomer, who emigrated from England and settled at Germantown in 1704. He was a believer and adept in the Rosicrucian philosophy, and gained great reputation among the Germans as a magus and astrologer.

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS was a scholar and a poet. He was born in Limpurg in Germany, in 1641, and emigrated in 1683 in the same vessel with Thomas Lloyd, to whom and to whose daughters many of his compositions now extant, are addressed. When he left England it appears he had not acquired the English language, for in one of his poems he speaks of having held conversation with T. Lloyd in Latin, and with William Penn in French. He, however, made himself so complete a master of the English tongue, as to be able to compose rhymes not altogether contemptible. These consist of letters, acrostics, and other poems, addressed to Rachel Preston, Hannah Hill, and Mary Norris, all daughters of his friend T. Lloyd. They compose part of a MS. volume in the possession of Mr. John F. Watson of Germantown.

He also wrote a work which was published in Germany about the year 1700, entitled " A Description of Pennsylvania." He resided in Germantown on the premises now occupied by his descendants, where he had, it is said, extensive vineyards and gardens. He died about the year 1720.

David James Dove is mentioned by Mr. Graydon as a popular satirical poet about the middle of the last century. He was by birth an Englishman, and had, it is said, gained some ludicrous notoriety in his own country. He was established in this city as a schoolmaster before the year 1759, and soon afterwards was appointed English teacher in the Philadelphia Academy; but he disagreed with the trustees, and on the opening of the Germantown Academy in 1762, became head master of that seminary. Another quarrel soon separated him from this institution, and he erected a house on an adjoining lot, where he established an opposition school; but this undertaking was unsuccessful, and shortly abandoned, and we hear no more of Mr. Dove. He is said to have been a good scholar, and distinguished for his powers of elocution. He had an ardent and peculiar temper, and was whimsical even in his discipline. Amongst several amusing instances, Mr. Graydon gives the following: " He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to despatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern; and in this odd equippage, in broad day light, the bell all the while tingling, they were conducted to school." As Dove affected strict regard to justice in his dispensations of correction, he once submitted with good humour to the same punishment from his pupils to their no small gratification, and the entertainment of the spectators. As his poetical compositions were generally political or personal satires,

their popularity, though great, was only ephemeral; and I do not know that a copy of a single piece is now to be found. I have heard repeated several lines from a very bitter attack upon William Moore of Moore's Hall, entitled "Washing the Black-a-moor White," written on the occasion of that gentleman's arrest by the assembly.* The verses of Mr. Dove are characterised as bitterly sarcastic, and sometimes pointedly witty, and he perhaps chiefly owed his ill success in this province to his unrestrained propensity to satire.

Several of the poets whose names have already occurred, have received the praise of fluency, elegance, vivacity, or wit. I have not ventured to claim for one of them either brilliant imagination or original genius. I am now to mention one whose deficient education and unpropitious fortunes were compensated by poetic talents which were of the highest order, and which, but for an early death, would have even gained him European laurels.

Thomas Godfrey, Jr. was son of the well known inventor of the quadrant, and was born at Philadelphia in 1736. His father died when he was a child; and his mother, whom we have no reason to suspect of tenderness, satisfied herself by affording him a common English education. For the cultivation of his taste, he was indebted to his own persevering study of the best English poetry. His life was an adventurous and interesting one. As a poet, he was above the

* Dove was also a caricaturist of considerable reputation, and a few copies of the productions of our provincial Gilray are a treasure to the antiquary. Like his satires, they were political, personal, and moral, and sometimes possessed, it is said, great humour. They were not often engraved; but several copies by the author himself were distributed privately, or hung in the barber's shops of our metropolis.

drudgery of a mechanical occupation, which the more plodding genius of a mathematician might have turned to his account, and elevated by a brilliant invention. He abandoned, therefore, the trade of his father, and was as little captivated by the art of watch-making, to which he had been apprenticed. A restless disposition urged him to embrace the profession of a soldier. He obtained, by the aid of Dr. Smith, a lieutenancy in the provincial troops, and was long enough on an Indian campaign to be disgusted with its hardships. He was attracted by the hopes of rapidly acquiring fortune at the south, and established himself in N. Carolina. Again dissatisfied, he tempted the ocean, and in vain sought wealth in commerce. He returned to Carolina, where an imprudent exposure to the malaria of that unhealthy climate was the cause of his death at the early age of 26 years. He is said to have been a man of the strictest integrity, of amiable disposition, and of engaging modesty. We are told also, that his talent for music was of the highest order, and that the opposition of his friends prevented the developement of a genius for painting which would have gained him great reputation. These talents are altogether congenial with those of a poet; and indeed the man whose ear is not acutely sensible to the melody and power of music, and whose eye cannot measure the proportions of grace and appreciate the bold or delicate touches of the pencil, wants some of the essential ingredients of a poet. An active and adventurous career is also favourable to the development of poetic talents. A life passed in an humble station, has little variety and but few excitements; but the dangers and triumphs of warfare—the tempests of the ocean—the majestic wildness of our forests—the simplicity and romance of the Indian character—even the luxuriance and flagrance of southern flowers—

all work upon a poetic imagination, and excite those effusions which rouse and elevate, or soothe and sadden.

Godfrey found patrons amongst the principal literati of the province; and his smaller poems, which were occasionally published in the American Magazine, were ushered with praises and received with applause. After his death his poems were collected, and in 1765 were published in Philadelphia in a small quarto volume, preceded by a critical review from the pen of Dr. Smith, and a biographical sketch of the author by his friend and brother poet Nathaniel Evans. The "Court of Fancy" is the principal poem in the volume, and it has received the highest commendation. It is said to display "strong imagination and poetic genius," and to be distinguished for "harmony, delicacy, and gracefulness." Perhaps all this might be proved by a few selections—certainly the piece contains some highly poetical descriptions; but on the whole, it is neither well contrived nor polished; and like all similar allegorical pieces, is formal and uninteresting. Amongst Godfrey's minor pieces, several might be noticed as possessing more than common beauty. His epistle from Fort Henry is a specimen of his best style. The versification is quite elegant, and the picture of the ravages of Indian warfare at the frontier settlements, is drawn with considerable power and feeling. A translation of Chaucer's "Assembly of Birds" contains some fine verses, and several of the pastorals and elegies have no small degree of elegance and sweetness. The "Prince of Parthia," as a dramatic composition, has certainly many defects in its plot, as well as faults in its style; but is, when we make due allowance for its author, a most wonderful production. We must excuse many passages, which, in the work of a more accomplished author, we would censure as inflated and common place. Yet several of the scenes are written with

considerable power. The verses sometimes move with true tragic majesty, and swell with rage or soften into tenderness, and this with a sustained passion which is worthy of better poets. The tragedy was sketched in North Carolina, but before the author was able to revise, polish, or even to complete it, his anxiety to have it performed by the Philadelphia company of players, before they should leave the city, induced him to transmit it in the unfinished state in which it must now be read. With the exception of a farce which Mr. Graydon says was written about the year 1770, and in which his pompous and affected writing-master was caricatured under the name of Parchment, this is, it is believed, the only dramatic production of Pennsylvania previous to the revolution.

Prefixed to Godfrey's poems is an elegy to his memory by JOHN GREEN, a portrait painter, and one of his early friends. Whether the author was inspired by any other occasion is not known, but the freedom and harmony of his numbers seem to imply that his pen had not been wholly unpractised.

The name of the REV. NATHANIEL EVANS follows of course that of his friend Godfrey. Even besides the ties of friendship they are united by the congeniality of their tastes and spirits, and by the melancholy similarity of their untimely deaths.

Mr. Evans was born in Philadelphia, on the 8th of June, 1742, and spent about six years in the Academy, which he entered shortly after it was first opened, and before the establishment of the collegiate part of that institution. He left the Academy to serve an apprenticeship in a merchant's counting-house, the duties of which, it is said, he neglected in his devotion to literature and poetry. He returned,

therefore, to the college, and applied himself to the study of philosophy and the sciences until the commencement in May, 1765; when, in consideration of his great merit and promising genius, he was complimented with a diploma for the degree of master of arts; though he had not previously taken the bachelor's degree, in consequence of the above mentioned interruption of his studies. Immediately after the commencement he embarked for England, where, on the nomination of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he was admitted into holy orders by the bishop of London, Dr. Terrick, who is said to have expressed great satisfaction with his essays on theological subjects. He returned to Philadelphia, in December, 1765, and immediately entered upon the duties of a mission at Gloucester county, New Jersey, to which he had been appointed; but, "alas," says Dr. Smith, "just lived long enough to show, by the goodness of his temper, the purity of his morals, the cheerfulness and affability of his conversation, the sublimity and soundness of his doctrines, and the warmth of his pulpit compositions, how well he was qualified for the sacred office to which he had wholly devoted himself." He died, October 29th, 1767, at the age of twenty-five years. His poems, after his death, were collected, and, in 1772, published by subscription under the care of Dr. Smith.

It has been said, and I presume with justice, that the verses of Evans are not remarkable for energy or originality. I should, however, be unwilling to exclude him or others whose compositions are not distinguished for these qualities from the list of poets. Fire and novelity do not seem to be indispensable in every poetical composition, though the popular taste may sometimes despise every thing that does not surprise and bewilder. Our senses are frequently taken off their guard by a rhapsody of measured nonsense, and

too often mistake the shocks and confusion of discordant ideas for the inspired eruptions of poetic frenzy; while pure, exalted, and intelligible sentiments, clothed in polished and graceful verses, are condemned as wanting all that distinguishes poetry from prose. Evans might truly have said of his own compositions—

> A nostris procul est omnis vesica libellis:
> Musa nec insano syrmate nostra tumet.

They are generally either the productions of his boyhood, or playful addresses to his friends; but a few more studied performances are of a higher character, and several of the odes are fine and spirited pieces. The whole collection may be praised for elegant versification and refined sentiment; and they display a chaste imagination and amiable sensibility, which must excite more just admiration of their author than the more brilliant genius of some greater poets can inspire.

We find, printed with the poems of Evans, several lively and witty pieces addressed to him by a lady, who accompanied him in his voyage from England, and whose friendship he enjoyed till his death. In these verses, she assumed the poetic name of Laura, but I believe I may venture to call her Miss Elizabeth Græme. This lady was born in this province, in the year 1739. She was daughter of Dr. Græme, the first physician of his time in Pennsylvania, and grand-daughter of Sir W. Keith. She was married to a Scotch gentleman, Mr. Hugh Ferguson. Miss Græme received an admirable education, and her mind early discovered an astonishing aptitude for every kind of learning. At her father's house she was surrounded by the most refined and literary society of America; and both here and in England

she enjoyed the intimacy, and gained the admiration of some of the most accomplished scholars and wits of the age. Her journal of travels, her letters, and many other of her prose compositions, were admired for their vivacity and elegance; and her poems, among which is to be found a translation of Telemachus into English verse, though they cannot be considered either polished or harmonious, serve to confirm the honourable traditions we have received respecting her character and her mind. Never did a poet possess a readier pen than Mrs. Ferguson. She wrote on every occasion, and on almost every subject; and if the publication of her manuscripts are called for, I have no doubt that a volume might easily be collected; but she cannot be said to have been a favourite of the Muses, and her lines are not perfumed with that "fragrant nectar," which those divinities are said to sprinkle over the verses of their friends. They are frequently sprightly and feeling, but they want the animation of poetic ardour, and even their fluency is not synonymous with graceful ease. Mrs. Ferguson is said to have been a lady of fine talents, of refined delicacy, exquisite sensibility, and romantic generosity; several of her friends are still living, who remember with delight her noble disposition, her agreeable conversation, and her amusing eccentricities.

Having introduced the name of one poetess, I take perhaps the best occasion of mentioning two ladies, whose poems are dated in almost every year of the last century, and whose venerable age extended almost to our own times. For the following biographical sketches, I am indebted to one of the most elegant and accomplished women of our age—herself the author of some beautiful verses, whom I believe I sufficiently designate, when I say she is an honorary member of this society.

"Susanna Wright was born in Great Britain, where she had received a good education, according to its estimation at that time; but the high degree of culture which her mind afterwards attained, was entirely owing to her own diligence and love of literature; but for which she never omitted any of the peculiar duties of her day and station. She came to this country with her parents in 1714, being then 17 years of age, and lived with them for some years in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, where her talents and understanding were justly appreciated; and she laid the foundation of many friendships with distinguished individuals and families, which continued through her life. She removed with her father's family among the first settlers on the banks of the Susquehanna, then the utmost frontier settlement of Pennsylvania; where they lived, surrounded by the Indians, and in the kindest friendship with them; and where, after her mother's death, the care of a large family, and the education of its youthful members, successively devolved upon her: yet she attended to the cultivation of her own mind and talents to a very uncommon degree. She attained several languages, and knew many sciences, without the smallest degree of pedantry or affectation. She was uncommonly agreeable in conversation; indeed she was equalled but by few, and her letters were highly and deservedly admired. Her character throughout was excellent. She lived nearly to the age of ninety years."

The only specimens of Susanna Wright's poetry which I have seen have a deeply religious character, but they are written with great force and feeling as well as elegance, and more than sustain her character for poetical talents, intellectual improvement, and moral worth.

"Hannah Griffitts was the daughter of Thomas Griffitts,

formerly mayor of Philadelphia, and by her mother, who was the daughter of Isaac Norris, sen. descended from Thomas Lloyd, one of the most distinguished of the first settlers of Pennsylvania, who came over with William Penn, in 1782."

"She was a woman of excellent abilities, and distinguished for the ease and accuracy with which she expressed herself both in conversation and with her pen. She had a talent for writing verses which I have never seen equalled for its readiness, the numbers really flowing from her pen as the natural effusion of her thoughts. I have a great many of her poetical effusions, chiefly devotional, or else in the elegiac strain on the death of her friends." * * * * * * *

"She was a truly pious and virtuous woman, and was supported by that piety through a season of afflictive privation in the loss of her sight; for she lived to extreme old age, and was quite blind for several of the latter years of her life. But her senses otherwise were retained to the last, and her fine faculties seemed unimpaired by age. She was born in Philadelphia, in 1728, and died in the same city, in 1817."

"She was remarkable for the readiness of her wit and repartee, and for the ease and fluency of her conversation. In her, a generous and lofty spirit was finely tempered by a Christian humility. She wrote a great deal, but was averse to her pieces appearing in print, which they sometimes did, though without her knowledge."

Several of Hannah Griffitts' pieces are evidence of talents of a superior order. They all breathe a spirit of piety and purity which commands our love, and some of them rise to a high elevation of devotional sublimity. Her versification is easy and elegant, and her poetry generally reflects with added lustre the charming traits of her exalted and polished mind.

The talents and learning which were collected in the faculty of our university immediately after its establishment, have been often noticed, and must always excite admiration and surprise. The encouragement given in that institution to the poetical talents of its earliest pupils, has not been, I believe, so generally known. Dr. Smith was not only a critic of the first taste; but, if we may judge from one or two short compositions which are printed,* might have gained some reputation for poetical talents. He seems to have incited and encouraged every boyish attempt at rhyme, and we probably owe to his instigations a number of excellent compositions which did honour to the college and the city. Every commencement or exhibition, every occasion of

* The most considerable specimen of Dr. Smith's poetry which I have met with, is entitled A Poem on visiting the Academy of Philadelphia, June, 1753, printed in folio, and consisting of near 300 lines. It may be praised for harmony and correctness; but neither the subject nor the occasion were calculated to inspire poetical ideas, and the author's imagination was not, it seems, able to supply them. He, however, casts a "glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," and, in the latter place perceives the venerable form of Penn, who oddly enough—

> With sky tinged mantle clad, and lifted hands,
> In act to touch the string, majestic stands.

The founder of our province "pours forth his raptures on the lyre," and after expressing his satisfaction at the advancement in wealth, wisdom, and virtue, which his fair colony has made, concludes with much excellent advice.

At the time he composed this piece, the Rev. Mr. Smith was tutor in the family of Col. Martin, of Long Island. The distinguished place he holds in the political and literary history of our colony, has rendered the events of his life familiar to us, and I will not repeat what is elsewhere to be found in print. He published several other pieces of poetry before and after the date of that just noticed. One of them may be seen prefixed to Evans' poems, and one or two, I believe, in the collection of his works.

general rejoicing or grief, was an opportunity for the public pronunciation of dialogues, odes, or elegies, some of which possess great beauty and animation, and are far above the ordinary capacity of collegians.

It would be tedious to designate the principal anonymous effusions which were produced at the university, but I must be permitted to notice a poem in blank verse, entitled "Pennsylvania," by a student at the college of Philadelphia. It describes the province as labouring under the distresses and terrors of warfare, and calls on Britain to rescue her helpless colony from the ravages of the French and Indians. It was printed in 1756. Franklin, in his advertisement, justly commends the judgment, genius, and public spirit with which it is written; and as the production of a boy it is really remarkable for the smoothness of its verses, the power of its descriptions, and the excellence of its taste.

Prefixed to a funeral sermon of Dr. Smith's upon Mr. W. T. Martin, a member of the first class which entered the university, are five elegiacal effusions by as many of his classmates, inscribed to the Rev. Provost. Each of these young gentlemen afterwards attained some distinction in our commonwealth. Several of them quitted their alma-mater with extensive learning, and a fine taste for literature; but in one alone the poetic seed appears to have produced much fruit.

One of the elegies was the production of Jacob Duche. It is easy, polished, and harmonious, which appear to be the characteristics of all the author's compositions. After his graduation he was received into holy orders, and was elected assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's. As a preacher he enjoyed great popularity, for his voice was full and musical, his elocution uncommonly graceful, and his

sermons highly finished and oratorical. He advocated at first the colonial resistance of British oppression, but was alarmed when that resistance became open rebellion; and on the occupation of Philadelphia by the enemy, attached himself to them. He published the letters of Tamoc Caspepina and some sermons. We have also his commencement exercise, a dialogue in blank verse, on the accession of George III. which is an harmonious and accurate composition. It is said that he afterwards occasionally wrote verses, but their loss is not to be regretted, as at most they could only have merited praise for fluency and elegance.

Another of these elegies, and one of the best, was written by Mr. Paul Jackson. This young gentleman was very much distinguished at the university for his genius, and his profound classical learning procured for him the Professorship of Languages very soon after his graduation. When in 1758 an expedition against the French forts and settlements was undertaken, he accepted a chaplaincy in the provincial troops, and resigned his seat to Mr. Beveridge. He was afterwards settled in Chester county, where he died. One or two of Mr. Jackson's poetical exercises were printed, and are still preserved. They are prettily written, but bear no proportion to his reputed talents, and cannot be adduced as evidence of the learning and accomplishments for which he has been praised.

We owe the fifth of these elegiac compositions to the pen of Francis Hopkinson. It is impossible, within the limits of this essay, to do justice to the character of that accomplished gentleman. He was a profound lawyer, an enlightened judge, and a patriotic statesman. His scholarship was various, and, indeed, there was no subject which the quickness and versatility of his talents did not enable him to grasp;

for, to use the words of one of the most sagacious and discriminating of his contemporaries, "he excelled in music and poetry, and had some knowledge of painting. But these arts did not monopolize the powers of his mind; further, he was well skilled in many practical and useful sciences, particularly mathematics and natural philosophy, and he had a general acquaintance with the principles of anatomy, chemistry, and natural history. But his forte was humour and satire, in both of which he was not surpassed by Lucian, Swift, or Rabelais. These extraordinary powers were converted to the advancement of the interests of patriotism, virtue, and science." Many of Mr. Hopkinson's poetical pieces have been collected and printed. Their subjects are mostly occasional, and though they were admirably calculated to produce a temporary effect, they cannot be fully appreciated at present. When the object of a satire is unknown, or the point of an epigram forgotten, their flatness is almost intolerable. With all these disadvantages the smaller poetic compositions of Mr. Hopkinson have not yet lost their charm, and many of his extemporary productions, like the "Battle of the Kegs," have too much humour soon to lose their popularity. Several pieces written in his youth for the American Magazine, have been praised for elegance and sprightliness; and even the "l'Allegro" and "il Penseroso," though they cannot be compared with their inimitable prototypes, will receive the approbation of every lover of poetry. His larger pieces are the "Treaty, a Poem," which, according to the author's own words, "was written on the banks of the Lehigh in the year 1761, when he served as secretary in a solemn conference held between the government of Pennsylvania and the chiefs of several Indian Nations," and "Science," a poem written in the course of the following year. They contain poetry of a high order, and with all

the rest of his pieces have received the praise of critics for propriety of expression, ease of versification, and harmony of numbers. Francis Hopkinson was born in Philadelphia in 1737, and died in his native city on the 9th of May 1791.

With the Latin poems of Mr. Beveridge, are also printed the translations into English verse, and one or two original pieces, by several students of the University, who he says were still under age. As some of these translations exhibit considerable taste and talents, I need not apologise for introducing the names of their authors, Stephen Watts, Alexander Alexander, and Thomas Coombe, Jr.

I presume it is no great praise of Mr. Watts' translations, to say they are better than the original Latin of Beveridge; but that he was able to form out of such materials, verses which are easy, sprightly, and agreeable, is not a little creditable to him. He is represented to have been a man of good dispositions, and of a fine mind. He was very much distinguished at college, and at an early age gained great honour by his "Essay on the Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and her Colonies," which is in print. He studied law at Philadelphia, but had not long been admitted to practice when he emigrated to Louisiana, where we learn that he acquired a fortune, and married a daughter of the Spanish Governor.

Alexander Alexander quitted college with a high reputation for classical attainments, and soon after his commencement was appointed a tutor in that institution; but he had not long held this situation when he was involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and obliged to quit the city, to which he never returned. The greater part of Beveridge's Odes were done into English verse by Mr. Alexander. The translation appears to do almost too much justice to the

original; and the verses, though relieved from the cumbrous weight of the Roman costume, seem not to have recovered the natural ease of English poetry. The versification, however, is neither rude nor unharmonious. Some prefatory verses "on Mr. Beveridge's Poetical Performances," are better executed, and at times move with great propriety and gracefulness.

Thomas Coombe, Jr. was son of a respectable citizen of Philadelphia, who held a small office in the customs. At college he was more distinguished by his belles lettres taste than for his classical learning. He afterwards studied theology, and about 1770 was admitted into priest's orders. On his return from England he was elected an assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's. Like the Rev. Mr. Duché he was a whig at the commencement of our revolutionary struggle, and like him was alarmed, and abandoned the party when Congress abjured their allegiance to the king. We find his name amongst those of our fellow citizens who, in September, 1777, were banished by the Legislature of Pennsylvania to Staunton in Virginia, but he obtained permission to remain, under plea of sickness. Before the end of the war he went to England, and abandoned his country for ever. In England he was patronized by the Earl of Carlisle, who made him his chaplain, and on his elevation to the Vice-royalty of Ireland, procured him a small benefice in that country. Mr. Coombe afterwards attained greater preferment in the church, and we find him named a Prebendary of Canterbury, and one of the chaplains to his Majesty. He died a few years since. The translations by Mr. Coombe display some command of language and facility of versification. In 1775 he dedicated to Dr. Goldsmith a poem, entitled "Edwin, or the Emigrant,"

which is a continuation of the story of the Deserted Village. It will surprise no one that it has few of the charms of that delightful production, but it is not without poetic talent, and the lines may be praised for great softness and harmony. The piece was written, it is said, to discourage emigration to this country, by a dreadful picture of its inhabitants, its situation, and its prospects, an object which at the time excited no small reprobation. With this poem were printed "The Unfortunate Lovers," and a few smaller pieces, which do not possess much merit.

The American Magazine has been already referred to. Of the first series, published in 1758, there appeared only 13 Nos., and ten years afterwards, when it was revived, it existed but nine months. It contained a great variety of poetry, the best of which was produced by Godfrey, Hopkinson and others, whose names have occurred above. There were, however, a good many anonymous contributions of considerable merit, but which, as the age was fruitful of tolerable poetry, it is unnecessary more particularly to notice. About the same time a number of poems were separately published, of which I may mention "The Squabble, a Pastoral Eclogue," written upon the occasion of the disgraceful Paxton riots; "The Manners of the Times, a Satire, by Philadelphiensis," which is said to have been aimed at a number of individuals in fashionable society; and "A Panegyric, by Strephon," which seems to be an answer to the satire. The animated resistance of the colonies to the oppressive acts of the British Parliament, inspired several of our poets, and we have a great many poems and Pindaric odes on "Liberty" and "Oppression," several of which may contain some harmonious and spirited verses,

but which may be generally characterized as more patriotic than poetic.

Among the poets of this period, Mr. JOHN WILCOCKS must not be forgotten. He was son of a gentleman from the West Indies, who brought him in his childhood to Philadelphia, and dying soon afterwards, left him heir to a handsome estate. He was educated at our college, where he distinguished himself more by his talents than by his application. He afterwards studied law, but was soon disgusted with that profession, and purchased an ensigncy in the 18th or Royal Regiment of Ireland. But he had not been long in the army when (in 1772) he died, at the early age of 22. He is said to have been a young man of fine talents, of impetuous temper, and of generous disposition. We have a number of his poetical effusions; they consist of fables, pastorals, epigrams, and satires, written generally with elegance, and occasionally with wit. But verses which do honour to a lover or a beau, and hold a conspicuous place in ladies' albums, may not entitle their author to the name of a poet; and such are the productions of Mr. Wilcocks. They are to be found printed with the poems of one of his friends, whom I am next to mention.

Mr. JOHN PARKE was, I believe, a native of Delaware; he must have been born about the year 1750, for in 1768 we find him a student in the college at Philadelphia. At the commencement of the war he entered the American army, and was attached, it is supposed, to Washington's division, for some of his pieces are dated at camp in the neighbourhood of Boston, and others at Whitemarsh and Valley Forge. After the peace he was for some time in our city, and we hear of him last in Arundel county, Virginia. The most

remarkable production of Mr. Parke is a poetical translation of the Odes of Horace. Several of his versions appear to have been college exercises, and most of the rest were written at camp in moments with difficulty stolen from his military duties. Our admiration of the classical taste of this young soldier, and our astonishment at his tranquil prosecution of his favourite studies in the midst of military bustle, almost disarm criticism. If the lines are occasionally unpolished, or have failed to catch the spirit of the original, we must be ready to excuse them; and it would be unfair to withhold our approbation from many verses which really possess great spirit and elegance, because they might perhaps have been more happily executed; for we must recollect, that we have no translation of the Lyrics of Horace which does any thing like justice to them, and that it is the opinion of scholars that we never can have.

In the same volume are to be found several translations from the classical poets, a number of odes, and other occasional pieces, and a pastoral drama entitled "Virginia." Most of these pieces were inspired by friendship or patriotism, and are evidences of a warm heart, a cultivated understanding, and a correct taste.

With the name of Mr. Parke I now close my catalogue of the early poets of Pennsylvania. Its prolixity seems to call for an apology, and yet I know not how I could have exhibited the extent to which poetry was cultivated in the province but by referring to a series of unsuccessful efforts, and naming many indifferent poets. As the object of this paper has been to prove the existence in Pennsylvania of poetical taste, rather than of poetical talent, I may, perhaps, flatter myself that it has not fallen short of its aim; at all events, I am entitled to ask of this society their favourable countenance of an attempt to rescue our ancestors from

the charge of illiteracy and inelegance, and to prove, that although the austerity of their religion and the hardness of their fortunes may have at first prevented any great patronage of the elegant arts, yet that competence and leisure quickly mitigated this severity, and the society of colonists became

> to soft refinements less a foe,
> Wit grew polite, and numbers learned to flow.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing pages were prepared for the press, I have had in my hands several copy books of the familiar letters of JAMES LOGAN, and find that his name must be added to the catalogue of our early poets.

It seems that he translated into English verse, for the use of his daughters, the Distichs of Cato, and that this version is in print.

It appears, also, that he was particularly ready at Latin versification, and that he frequently addressed to his learned friends, playful odes or epistles in Roman numbers. In one of his letters to the accomplished Colonel Hunter, Governor of New Jersey, I find mention of a Greek ode which he had just written, a proof of singular scholarship in that beautiful language.

These compositions I have not seen; of course, I cannot speak of their merits. I need not add any account of their author; his name, character, and station, are familiar to every one here, and a satisfactory history of his life and acquirements is precluded by the limits of this paper.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

BY

WILLIAM RAWLE, L.L.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

Read at an adjourned Meeting of the Council, Oct. 28, 1829.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Although Pennsylvania was not inferior to *any of her* sister states in *devotion* to the cause of the revolution, or in *liberal contribution* to the support of the war, it has happened that the catalogue of *eminent military* characters has received little addition from her. *Circumstances* are always necessary to bring *talent* into *action.* The bravest *warrior* and the most ardent *patriot*, without the *accidental opportunity* of distinguishing himself, may remain *unnoticed* and *obscure;* while *others*, though without superior merit, derive honour and distinction from a *mere concurrence* of circumstances.

Anthony Wayne and *Thomas Mifflin* were those of the children of Pennsylvania, who chiefly contributed to decorate her with laurels. It was the felicity of the *former*, at a late period, to have a *new* opportunity of exhibiting the power and the success of his talents for war. An account of his life is now in preparation by a gentleman *well qualified* for the task, and enjoying the advantage of access to the archives of his family.

In tracing the life of Thomas Mifflin, we shall find that an *early dedication* of *all his energies* to the *cause of his* country, an *unremitted aspiration* for hazardous employment, and a constitutional activity which nothing could wear out, were insufficient to place him so high on the roll of historical fame as some of his competitors; yet his *name* and his

merits deserve to be recorded. He was in early life "*the beloved man*" of Pennsylvania, and the following sketch will show that her confidence and affection in respect to him, were *never* diminished.

Thomas Mifflin was descended from one of the first settlers of Pennsylvania, and he was himself a native of Philadelphia.

In 1744, the year of his birth, the peaceful and humble *dependance* of a province afforded little prospect that the lapse of a few years would require the high employment of the mind in the perils of internal warfare, and the establishment of an *independent* empire.

The general course of education at *that* time was calculated for the *utilities* of *domestic* life, or the limited calls of *provincial employment;* and it would have been deemed *absurd and dangerous* to hold up the *heroes* of Greece and Rome for the imitation of the youth of Philadelphia. Intended for the mercantile profession, the education of Mifflin, although *carefully* superintended by his respectable father, was not protracted by a close *study of ancient languages*, and his knowledge of them was, consequently, moderate; yet he passed with reputation through the *usual collegiate* course, and was subsequently placed in the counting-house of *William Coleman*, a man of whom Dr. Franklin has testified, that he had "the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals, of almost any man he ever met with."

On attaining the age of 21 years he made a voyage to *Europe*, several parts of which were visited by him with a view to his own improvement, but no further particulars of his travels have reached his present biographer. On his return, he entered into business with one of his brothers, and the affectionate attachment which existed between them was much noticed. Circumstances afterwards gave him an

opportunity to evince the sincerity of his feelings towards the *family* of that brother, in a manner which did him the greatest credit.

His opening talents rendered him an *early favourite* with his fellow citizens. In the *provincial legislature*, the city of Philadelphia was then represented by two burgesses annually elected, and to be one of those two burgesses was reckoned no inconsiderable honour, even in quiet times; but when clouds began to gather round us; when the blind desire to draw a forced revenue from the colonies, led the British ministry to put in jeopardy the immense national profit derived from our trade, and when a severity of restriction on our internal transactions was openly menaced and partly enforced, it became important that the metropolis of the central province should select for its *counsellors* and *agents*, men of the *purest principles* and the *best abilities*. In 1772, when he had attained only 28 years of age, Thomas Mifflin was chosen one of those burgesses. His conduct gave so much satisfaction to his constituents, that in the ensuing year he again received the same distinction, which was rendered the more flattering from his having a colleague in the illustrious Benjamin Franklin, who was then on his return from Europe.

A *yet* more elevated post was soon afterwards assigned to him. In July, 1774, he was included in the *list of delegates* to the first Congress. The appointments of members of Congress were at that time made in all the provinces by the legislatures, and continued to be made in this manner until the adoption of the present constitution. It was an objectionable principle, but practically unavoidable.

All the colleagues of Mifflin were his seniors. *Joseph Galloway*, was a gentleman of the bar, of great talents, and considerable property. He had been an *active opponent* of

the Proprietaries, and possessed the confidence of *great numbers* of the people, though many suspected that he was not sincerely attached to the American cause, and their suspicions were *confirmed* by his subsequently joining the army of Sir *William Howe*. *Edward Biddle*, also, was a lawyer. He resided at Reading, in the county of Berks: he was a man of ready elocution, sound principles, and correct judgment. *Samuel Rhoads*, a respectable merchant of Philadelphia, belonged to the Society of Friends—without the talent of speaking in public, he possessed much *acuteness of mind*, his judgment was *sound*, and his practical information *extensive*. The other two gentlemen, *Messrs. Morton* and *Humphreys*, resided in the country, and were respectable, though not prominent men.

The *closed* doors of the hall of Congress prevented the public from ascertaining the *particular conduct* of the members within it. We find upon the journals, the appointments of committees and their reports. The transcendent abilities of *Jay*, of *William Livingston*, *Patrick Henry*, *Chase*, *Rutledge*, and many others, could not be recorded in these official protocols. The *estimation* in which individual members were held, may be *uncertainly* inferred from the *appointments of committees*. The name of Mifflin frequently appears in this capacity.

When the news of the *battle of Lexington* reached Philadelphia, a town meeting was called, and the fellow citizens of Mifflin were delighted by his *animated* oratory. Other addresses were delivered on this solemn occasion, *all of* which partook of the same feeling; but, although the *youngest* of these speakers, Mifflin had the exclusive merit of suggesting the necessity of a *steady adherence* to the resolutions that were adopted. The language with which he concluded was long remembered. "Let us not," he said, "be *bold in*

declarations, and afterwards *cold in action*. Let not the patriotic feelings of *to-day* be *forgotten* to-morrow, nor have it said of Philadelphia, that she passed *noble resolutions*, *slept upon* them, and afterwards *neglected* them."

What he recommended to others, he practised himself. The formation of military companies and regiments, the acquisition of as great a portion of military knowledge as there could be obtained, and the exercises of daily drill and discipline, soon became general. Of one of these regiments he was appointed the *major*, and no efforts on *his* part were wanting to improve this species of domestic defence. But his active spirit could not long be confined to *mere measures* of preparation; he panted for opportunities of coming into *action*, and he flew to the camp then formed before Boston.

Destitute of materials for besieging a place even *slightly* fortified, the occupations of the American army were *chiefly confined* to restraining the excursions of General Gage, and intercepting his supplies. A small affair of this kind afforded him the first opportunity of displaying both his *courage* and his *judgment*. A detachment had been sent from the British army to a place called *Lechmire's Point*, for the purpose of collecting cattle; Mifflin solicited and obtained the command of a party to oppose them, and succeeded, with half disciplined militia, in repelling the regular soldiery. An eye witness, the aged and venerable General *Craig*, declared to the writer, that he "never saw a greater display of personal bravery, than was exhibited on this occasion in the *cool* and *intrepid* conduct of Colonel Mifflin."

With no *other* opportunity to distinguish himself, Mifflin, in common with his brother officers, was obliged to remain in a state of inactivity, while the enemy were confined in Boston. Hopes were entertained that some effort would be made to capture the town, but Congress had laid general

Washington under a restriction of previously obtaining the approbation of a council of war.

A council was called, and on *full deliberation* it was determined to postpone a measure, the success of which was certainly doubtful. The general was not, however, inclined *wholly* to relinquish the attempt, and at a *later period* a strong work was erected on Dorchester Neck, which would command the town, and was expected to draw out a considerable part of the British force; on which event it was the intention of the judicious chief to make the attack; but the enemy, *mindful of Bunker's Hill*, instead of endeavouring to reduce the newly erected work, resolved to *withdraw* from a town which they perceived they could not much longer defend. On the 17th of March, 1776, *Boston* was evacuated, and most of our troops returned to their respective homes.

Very soon after this great event, Col. Mifflin received from Congress the commission of Brigadier General, which at so *early* an age was no *inconsiderable honour*. He had before this time performed the laborious duties of *Quarter-Master General;* which were afterwards undertaken by Stephen Moylan, an accomplished Irish gentleman resident among us, but of habits and manners not exactly suited to the difficulties of the times: he therefore soon abandoned the office, and Mifflin was requested by Congress to *resume* it. Military men know this to be a post of the first necessity, and of severe responsibility; but it is one which tends to subtract he occupant from the chance of distinction in actual warfare; and therefore, as well in this respect, as in regard to the nature of the employment itself, Mifflin's acceptance of the office was somewhat of an act of *self-denial*. The country was in a state of *disorder*—its *commerce* was suspended—and, of the articles most in demand, some could not be procured *at all*, and others were *reluctantly* parted

with. In the organization of the department, every thing was new and unsettled; and, in its operations, almost every measure either *offended* the people, or *disappointed* the government. In all his share of public life, Gen. Mifflin found *this* the most obnoxious to his *feelings*, and, for a time, the most prejudicial to his *character*.

But Congress at this juncture entertained a high opinion of him. On their secret journal, it appears (of the date of May 25, 1776) that a committee was appointed to confer with Gen. Washington, Gen. Gates, and Gen. Mifflin, "touching the frontiers towards Canada." Of the *result* of this particular conference no traces appear; and, as an incident of *general* history, it would scarcely deserve notice, but to the *biographer* it is not devoid of interest. The friends of the youthful hero were *gratified* by seeing him associated with *one* on whom the destinies of their country seemed to depend, and with *another*, whose age and experience stamped a value on his opinions.

In November, 1776, the commander in chief sent him from *Newark* with a *confidential* letter to Congress. Our affairs at that time wore a gloomy aspect; and it required firm hearts to continue in resistance to the apparently overwhelming power of Sir William Howe.

There was probably much committed to Mifflin beyond the contents of the letter; and Congress being desirous to avail themselves of his *information* and his *judgment*, he was, in a manner not very usual nor perhaps altogether consistent with military order, directed to *remain near them*, of which Gen. Washington was apprised.

The spirits of the people were at this period much *depressed*. The contest was considered by some as *desperate*, by all as *doubtful*. Our army, dwindling every day in number, was obliged to seek refuge in defensible

positions. New Jersey was overrun, and the safety of Philadelphia was endangered. The inhabitants of this city were necessary for its defence, and it was from the *country* that the recruits for the army, anxiously invoked by Gen. Washington, were to be drawn; but much *torpor* and much dejection seemed to prevail. Something *out of the common course* was necessary to revive the ardour of 1775. *Personal application* was determined on, and one, who *besides sincere and unaffected patriotism*, had already shared the dangers of the field, and who possessed a powerful and impressive eloquence, was to be selected. These qualities were combined in Gen. Mifflin, and he was directed to proceed through the adjacent counties, "to exhort and rouse the militia to come forth in defence of their country." The legislature of Pennsylvania, then in session, was requested to appoint a committee to accompany him. On this *honourable* and *extraordinary* mission he set out immediately. He assembled the inhabitants in every convenient place of *public resort*, his *animated eloquence* was heard from the pulpit of the *church*, from the *meeting house*, and the *court house*, and every where with the happiest effect. The gallant *coup de main* at Trenton produced a gleam of sunshine, which greatly *aided* his exertions, and he was delighted at the respectable addition which was soon made to the army in New Jersey.

The sense which *Congress* entertained of his merits, was evinced by their conferring on him, in the following month of February, the rank of *Major General*.

In the course of this year, his health became so much impaired that he was under the necessity of requesting leave to resign, but his application was unsuccessful. He was not even relieved from the fatigues of the quarter-master general's department. On the contrary, his labours were

increased, by being appointed a member of a new board of war. It would seem, however, that this body did not immediately go into operation, for a report was soon afterwards made to Congress, by one of their committees, that *he* had been consulted with, and his *advice* taken as to supplying the army with flour, and other matters which related to the quarter-master general's department.

The ensuing winter is known to have been one of *dense* and heavy *gloom* in our public affairs. The REMNANTS of an army, protected from the severity of the weather by huts hastily erected at *Valley Forge*, were suffering almost *every privation*, while the enemy *rioted in enjoyment* at Philadelphia. Much complaint was made of bad management *somewhere*, and General Mifflin came in for a share of the blame. On the 2d of March a new appointment of quarter-master general was made, and he was directed to render to Congress and to General Greene, his *successor*, "a statement of the preparations for the next campaign, and deliver the articles on hand to General Greene."

The great want of order and subordination in many departments of the army, which was partly owing to the erroneous systems adopted at different times by Congress itself, and partly to the novelty of the predicaments in which we were placed, threw on the head of a department no *small difficulties;* and Mifflin, who, so far as related to his own receipts and disbursements of public money, was above suspicion, very reasonably conceived that he ought not to be responsible for the conduct of *others*, over whom he had no *efficient control.* A resolution to a different effect was passed, however, by Congress, on the 19th of May, declaring as a general rule, that the "great servants of the public" are *accountable* to it, and that it must depend on *particular circumstances*, of which *Congress* will judge, whether, in any

case, the payment of money to deputies or assistants shall discharge the principal. No progress was made in the inquiry at *this time*, and on the 21st of May, Mifflin, who with others foresaw the speedy evacuation of Philadelphia, and was anxious to participate in those military measures, which the event would probably give rise to, obtained leave to join the main army.

Of the share which he took in the military proceedings that ensued, the writer of this sketch has not been able to obtain any satisfactory information. It does not appear that he was in the battle of *Monmouth*. We must, therefore, return to the history of his troubles as quarter-master general.

By one of those strange vacillations to which public bodies are always liable, Congress, after having at different times manifested almost unbounded confidence in him, suddenly requested General Washington to make an *inquiry* into his conduct, and if the distresses of the army were owing to his *misconduct*, or that of his inferior officers, to order a court martial.

We may reasonably suppose that this procedure arose from clamours with which Congress was beset, and which they knew not how otherwise to appease. His particular friends might, indeed, have concurred in the measure from a desire of vindicating his character; and it is not improbable that the commander in chief was *himself* satisfied that no neglect of duty was imputable to him. We may account, for the distresses of the army, as proceeding from a variety of causes not imputable to General Mifflin. It is certain that he earnestly courted the inquiry, and after waiting some time, and finding that no proceeding took place, he indignantly returned his commission to Congress, and insisted upon being allowed to resign, but this application was not more success-

ful than the former. It was referred to a committee, who *made no report*. Exactly one *month afterwards*, an unequivocal proof that he was not suspected of any *dishonourable peculation* was given, by the advance to him of *one million of dollars*, to be employed in closing the business of the quarter-master general's department. This sum being, of course, in continental bills of credit, was eqnal in value to *two hundred thousand dollars* in specie. An amount sufficiently large however in the existing embarrassments of the government to evince the return of public confidence to him.

And yet, from the necessity of satisfying the public mind, Congress did not lose sight of the inquiry originally directed. On the 23d of January, 1779, they were informed by one of their committees, that General Washington had done nothing in the business. By another resolve he was directed to proceed. Still, however, no formal inquiry seems to have been instituted, or if any did take place in the course of the year, it was favourable to him, since in January, 1780, he was appointed by Congress a member of a board to retrench the general expenses, and the thanks of Congress were voted to him and Colonel *Pickering*, for "the *wise* and *salutary plans*" they had recommended.

From this time to the close of the war nothing of much moment occurred in his public life, but his *strong hold* on the affections of his fellow-citizens still continued; in 1783, he was again appointed by the legislature of Pennsylvania a member of Congress; and on the third of November in the same year, he was elevated to the dignified station of *president* of that body.

In this capacity, he had the distinguished honour of receiving at Annapolis, from one of the first of warriors, and best of statesmen, the resignation of that commission which

had borne him to glory, and his country to independence. The *answer* of the president to the dignified, yet respectful address of the commander in chief, *closely resembled* the manly and simple eloquence of the latter. They are both recorded in the journals of Congress, but those journals could *not record* the *feelings* which the occasion inspired. The audience was public, and the impressions made as well by the act itself, as by the manner in which it was conducted, long remained on the minds of all who were present.

Foreigners have not yet ceased to extol the *magnanimity* of him who thus voluntarily retired, from the command of a victorious army, to the shades of private life, without any *distinction* above his fellow citizens; and of his merits in this respect, his *fellow citizens* were duly sensible. If, indeed, he had made an *attempt* to arrogate to himself any *inordinate power*, or *personal privilege*, the *genius* and *character* of our country would have *prevented* its success; but the purity of his mind forbade his forming even such *a wish;* his example was followed by his fellow soldiers, and fellow sufferers, and never was the dissolution of an army marked by more resignation and tranquillity. The slight and temporary ebullition of June, 1783, deserves scarcely to be mentioned as an exception to the general demeanour of the common men.*

General Mifflin, after discharging the duties of president of Congress, with much dignity and effect, was left out of the new delegation from Pennsylvania, and for a short time

* It might have been instantly suppresed, if the executive power of Pennsylvania had been in proper hands, and the city of Philadelphia would not have had the mortification of witnessing the indignant removal of Congress to Princeton. But all was tranquil in 1784. The army gently and silently disappeared, leaving no bandit to prowl along the roads, nor burglars to invade the lonely cottage: the honest occupations of civil life were resumed, and the grim soldier was transformed into the industrious artisan or the hardy husbandman.

remained in private life. But his native state, accustomed to see his name enrolled in the list of her public servants, did not long leave him in retirement.

In 1785 he was chosen a member of the state legislature, and when that body convened they elected him their speaker. In 1788 he was placed by popular suffrage in the seat which had been occupied by Franklin, and became first a member, and afterwards president of the supreme executive council.

Prior to this, however, in 1787, when it became obvious to all that the confederation of the states was inadequate to their safety and happiness, and a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution was agreed on, he was chosen a member.

Of the share which he took in the formation of that unequalled constitution, which has so much conduced to the fame and happiness of our country, we have no satisfactory knowledge. Their proceedings were secret, and we can only glean from the imperfect journal of Mr. Gates part of their debates. His name appears as one of the illustrious band who signed the constitution, of whom *but one now* remains!

The imperfections of our state constitution, which had long been complained of, seemed to be rendered more visible on comparing it with the constitution of the United States, and a convention was speedily called for the purpose of amending it. He was president of this convention.

In the formation of political constitutions he was not expected to take a lead. His natural disposition and confirmed habits were of an *ardent* and *active* kind: he was *unaccustomed* to and perhaps unqualified for slow deliberation and patient investigation. To the great leading principles of individual and political rights, he was no

stranger; but his knowledge on those subjects was rather *intuitive* than *acquired.* In this last mentioned convention were many men accustomed to deep reflection and laborious inquiry, men who could ascend to Aristotle and to Tully; and could distinguish between the vague principles of ancient times, and the practical improvements and actual necessities of the present day.

Some of them were of a profession which, in this country, naturally impels to the acquisition of the principles of *government*, as well as of *laws*, and teaches that the *latter* are most easily enforced when founded on just views of the former. Of this class the most eminent among us had been selected—Wilson, Lewis, M'Kean, Sitgreaves, Addison, Ross, and others. There were other men of enlarged minds, and conversant in political studies, able both to *form* and to *advocate* opinions that could not be heard without respect; Findley, Smiley, Gallatin, and Pickering.

In the great *division* of the powers of government—its partition into *three parts—all* concurred, but there were some diversity of opinion, and some warmth of debate, in respect to several important articles, and the charges of *aristocracy* and *anarchy* were reciprocally, but decently made. The manner of electing the governor—for all agreed that the executive power ought no longer to remain in the hands of a council—was *one* subject of warm and frequent debate. A close conformity to the constitution of the United States in this respect, by making use of the medium of *electors*, was much pressed. Experience has shown how entirely nominal this mode of election has become in respect to the president of the United States; and such would *undoubtedly* have been the result, if we had adopted it in *the state.* Another serious subject of contest—*universal suffrage*—was advocated as part of the inherent rights of man, while some

of the members, highly respected for talents and influence, fruitlessly endeavoured to establish a compound ratio founded on property and personal taxation.

Wilson, who had been previously *distinguished* for the nobler part he had taken in procuring the *adoption* of the general constitution which he had assisted to form, now threw the *whole weight* of his talents into the popular scale, and successfully co-operated with Smiley, Findley, and Gallatin.

In an *entire* view, the constitution of Pennsylvania must be allowed to be a *master* piece, and we must hope that inconsiderate innovations, since the abortive attempt in 1825, will not *again* be proposed to *disturb* its symmetry or *impair its strength.*

As president of the convention, Mifflin was not required to vote, but in committees of the whole he could both debate and vote, yet his *voice* was seldom heard. His *suffrages* were always on the popular side.

As soon as the constitution went into operation, the election of a governor became an interesting subject. Wilson, whose views in the convention were entirely theoretical and abstract, *deserted* his new associates, and concurred with a small number of citizens in recommending General *St. Clair* for this high office. St. Clair then possessed a good military reputation. He was a man of no extraordinary attainments, but his private character was fair, and he was much approved of by the federal party; yet *many* of the federalists *regretted* the nomination, and foresaw that, by opposing the election of Mifflin, he would be driven into the *opposite* political ranks. The mode of election finally adopted by the convention was admitted to render the success of St. Clair *exceedingly doubtful.* When it was suggested to Wilson, that if the *system* of electors and the *compound* ratio had

been adopted, there would have been a better prospect of success, he answered with an apopthegm which showed *little* acquaintance with *human nature*. "The best man," he said, "will always be the most popular." He forgot the *ostracism* of *Aristides*. But the maxim is *otherwise* fallacious. If St. Clair was thought by some the "best man in the state" for this office, others sincerely believed that Mifflin was the best. It is, therefore, a matter of opinion, not of absolute merit. Mifflin was elected by a vast majority, and the preference given to him over St. Clair was not to be condemned. His *happiest* exhibitions were those of an *executive* character. He was *ready* to conceive, and *prompt* to execute whatever the duties of such an office required.

The nine years which limited his continuance *in office*, were not altogether years of quiet, regular detail. In 1793, the public mind was disturbed by the indiscretions of the minister from France; and during that and two or three succeeding years, the administration of the United States received from the Governor of Pennsylvania a ready and efficient compliance with *all its* requisitions. In this he evinced the merit of subjecting, to his sense of duty, those predilections in favour of France, which he entertained in common with numbers of his fellow citizens.

The present writer then filled a station which gave him the best opportunities of observing the official proceedings of Governor Mifflin, and he bears a willing testimony to his *prompt* and *effective* compliance with the requisitions of the President on every occasion. He did not, like the executive council in 1783, on the occasion already adverted to, *deliberate* and *discuss* when it was his duty *to act*. It was a strong practical proof, that the *executive power* in a republic is most safely confided to a single hand.

The absurd insurrection of 1794, could only be suppressed

by the display of *great military* power; and at the head of *that portion* of the militia of Pennsylvania which went on the service, Gen. Mifflin cheerfully put himself *under the orders* of Gen. Lee, governor of Virginia, who in *the regular army* during the war had been his *inferior* in rank. In this he showed his reverence for the constitution of the United States; which, rendering the President commander in chief of the whole, authorised him to assign particular services to *such officers* as he thought proper.

Before his commission as governor expired, his fellow citizens, unwilling to part with him as a public man, again chose him a member of the state legislature; in which, however, he could not act, till his successor was installed in the office of governor. His last official communication in the latter character, was on the 7th of December, 1799. It was an eloquent valediction, and was respectfully and affectionately answered. He then took his seat in the house of representatives, but his shattered constitution disabled him from making in it that imposing figure which he had often done before. He died during a session of the house at Lancaster, on the 21st of January, 1800. Resolutions were passed, expressive of the high sense entertained of his merits and his services as a soldier and "a statesman;" providing for his interment at the public expense, and for the erection of a monument to his memory.

Thus ended the *chequered* life of Thomas Mifflin—*brilliant* in its outset—*troubled* and *perplexed* at a period more advanced—again *distinguished*, *prosperous*, and *happy*—finally clouded by *poverty*, and *oppressed by creditors*. In *patriotic principle* never changing—in *public action* never faltering—in *personal friendship* sincerely warm—in *relieving the distressed* always active and humane—in his *own*

affairs improvident—in the business of others scrupulously just.

In *person* he was remarkably handsome, though his stature did not exceed five feet eight inches. His frame was *athletic*, and seemed *capable* of bearing much fatigue. His manners were cheerful and affable. His elocution open, fluent, and distinct.

Graydon,* who did not like him, says that his manners were better adapted to *attract* popularity than to *preserve* it, and that he possessed in an eminent degree the talent of haranguing a multitude. He adds, that he was a man of "education, ready apprehension and brilliancy, and possessed a fortitude equal to any demands that might be made on it."

The present memoir ought not to be closed, without adverting to a circumstance, which for a long time operated to his discredit, and from which it is not yet too late to clear his memory.

In what may be termed the *political* conduct of Gen. Mifflin in *the army*, we cannot wholly exculpate him from the charge of being frequently *discontented* and *out of humour* with the course of proceedings: at times, if we are to believe Wilkinson, (in his Memoirs,) quite despondent of ultimate success. He was naturally *free* and *unguarded* in his conversation; and it is very probable that *some* of his remarks reached the ears of the commander in chief. It is certain that he was not a favourite at head quarters, and hence we may account for his never having had a separate command, except in the trifling affair at Lechmere's point. But although suspected of being a party to the unworthy plot concerted at York to remove Gen. Washington from the command of the

* Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania.

army, he was altogether innocent of it. The writer of this article has accidentally become possessed of a correspondence between him and the late Colonel Delany, which appears to vindicate him entirely from the charge.

In a letter dated February 1, 1778, the general observes, "As a man of sense and honour, you must judge what my feelings must be, when I am told that my old acquaintance Colonel Delany had charged me with a design of ruining General Washington, and of setting up Gen. Gates in opposition to him. As a friend to my country, I have spoken my sentiments on public matters with decency and firmness. *I love and esteem Gen. Washington, and know him too well, even to wish for a change. I love my country, and for her sake deprecate the idea of such a change.* But I have seen, and among my friends have said, that Gen. Washington's judgment in military points was frequently counteracted by what I believed a dangerous influence. I have quoted Long Island and Mount Washington as instances of that influence, and have lamented that the general did not consider the *great value* of his own *private judgment*, a judgment universally admitted and admired."

In answer, Col. Delany threw the blame on an officer from the southward, from whom he had heard the charge when dining at a friend's house, and did not attempt to support it himself.

In the opinion that Gen. Washington sometimes allowed his own excellent judgment to be overruled by the suggestions of others, Mifflin did not stand alone. Wilkinson observes, that General Wayne "wished our worthy general would follow his own good judgment, without listening too much to some counsel."

Who were meant as giving this counsel, is not explained. I have heard from military men, that the loss of the battle

of Germantown was imputable to the suggestions of *General Knox*, that an advancing army ought not to leave a garrison in its rear. *C. J. Marshall* has explained and vindicated the remaining with so many troops on *Long Island*, and the unfortunate attempt to defend *Fort Washington* now appears to have been the act of *General Greene*.

AN

EXAMINATION

OF

THE VARIOUS CHARGES BROUGHT BY HISTORIANS

AGAINST

WILLIAM PENN

BOTH AS A MAN AND AS A POLITICAL GOVERNOR.

BY

J. R. TYSON, ESQ.

Read before the Society, February 3, 1830.

AN EXAMINATION, &c.

Many circumstances combined to render the actions and motives of William Penn, during his life, the objects of misrepresentation and suspicion. His religion no less than his efforts in the cause of religious toleration; his familiarity with James II.; and his situation as proprietary of Pennsylvania; all conspired to injure him in the estimation of many of his contemporaries. Haste or carelessness has, in too many instances, perpetuated what sectarian bigotry and political zeal at first engendered. It is high time to examine, with candour and with care, the justice of the numerous charges which continue to assail the memory of a man whom many inquirers regard as really estimable and uncommon—charges which unceasingly receive from the repetitions and versions of successive chroniclers some new confirmation. They are not concentered in a single book, but lie scattered over numerous volumes, each containing some variation from the rest, and each endeavouring to surpass its fellows in the adoption of some gratuitous narrative, or the boldness of interpretation given to particular portions.

The cause of truth and the integrity of history require that error, if it exist, should be arrested. I propose therefore to examine with minuteness the assertions against Penn,

and to expose such parts of his public and private career as may be necessary for the discussion of the points in controversy.

Among the early works which throw odium upon his name as a legislator and friend of political liberty, "The Historical Review of Pennsylvania" stands conspicuous. Most of the accusations to be found in this, are repeated by subsequent writers, without looking further, or examining the correctness with which they are here preferred. It has been quoted as authority superior to exception, while it is well known to be the production of party zeal, and shows in its language but too many evidences of a feeling altogether incompatible with fair and candid representation. The work, although never acknowledged, is universally attributed to Dr. Franklin,* who in the angry contests between the proprietary and popular parties, espoused the cause of the latter, and acted in the triple capacity of agent to solicit and transact the affairs of the colony, of printer, and member,† in an assembly, which, however justly, was warmly opposed to the interests of the Penn family. It may fairly be supposed that, in the excitement of contending for rights then undoubtedly withheld or invaded, Dr. Franklin may have conceived antipathies against the father as well as his children which disqualified him for the business he had undertaken. Indeed

* Clarkson, in his life of Penn, says that it was attributed to one *Ralph*, and was written "to prejudice the people against the proprietary family." It is highly probable that Ralph, who then resided in Philadelphia, and was intimate with Franklin, assisted in the work.

† It has been said that Dr. Franklin was clerk and member of the assembly at the same time, but this seems to be a mistake. He was clerk in 1746; but he was not at that time a member. *William* Franklin officiated for several years subsequently as clerk, while Benjamin Franklin was a member of the house; the name probably has given rise to the error. Votes of Assembly.

his character of partisan is constantly betrayed by the strain of argument which pervades the Review, and the cutting gibes and sly innuendos with which each page is replete. He had done enough for his purpose by showing the constitutional rights of British subjects, and that these, though guarantied in the Royal Charter, had been abused and violated; but he needs must deduce the history of the province to exhibit an unbroken series of wrongs and outrages upon popular liberty, the recital of which he knew would produce a sentiment of hostility, and destroy all the latent respect, which, on account of the virtues of William Penn, might still be entertained for his successors. The Historical Review, therefore, presenting but one aspect of the subject, is entitled to little authoritative respect as a history.

The different imputations contained in this work all tend to produce an impression that William Penn opposed the just rights and liberties of the people. A brief reference to his sentiments and acts will prove the reflection to be totally unfounded.

If we look at the provisions of the various charters granted by the proprietary at different times, we shall find that liberty as extensive as is compatible with the existence of a political state, is their distinguishing feature. The people were represented in the assembly and council, and though at the beginning the power of originating bills was confined to the latter with the governor, the privilege was subsequently conferred on both without distinction. His own language demonstrates that he had a just conception of the essence of political freedom: "Any government," says he, "is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where *the laws rule, and the people are parties to those laws;* and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion." It is very certain that the liberty enjoyed by his colony was

esteemed, at the time, rather of dangerous tendency, and required his utmost vigilance before the throne. He answered the objections of the lords of trade to the act of privileges to a freeman, passed in 1705, in a manner which displayed, in a most amiable point of view, his zeal for the immunities of his colony. He strenuously urged that the act was consistent with Magna Charta, and that adventurers to Pennsylvania had not gone so far from England, to lose a tittle of its benefits. Burke, in his "Account of the European Settlements in America," in adverting to what he calls Penn's "noble charter of privileges" to the people of his province, says, "he made *the most perfect freedom*, both civil and religious, the basis of his establishment." This opinion will be abundantly confirmed, by a succinct allusion to the prominent events and various constitutions of the colony, the latter made with the consent or at the express instance of the proprietary. Immediately after the acquisition of Pennsylvania, by virtue of the charter of Charles II., William Penn published an account of the country, stating the terms upon which he would part with the land, and apprising those who intended to emigrate of the unavoidable privations incident to their residence in a new world. His "Conditions and Concessions" more fully disclosed his views, and this was followed by a developement of their civil constitution, called "The Frame of Government," which cordially met the wishes of the colonists, who, according to Markham, "unless pleased, and granted whatever they wanted, would not have settled his country." Upon the arrival of the proprietary, in 1682, an assembly was convened at Chester, which, after uniting the territories and province, and naturalizing foreigners, passed "The Great Law," which, in a word, establishes the rights of conscience, breathes mercy to the criminal, and protects the

natural rights of man. That part of it which relates to property, has been sanctioned by the voice of public approbation and applause. Without indicating other provisions admirably in unison, the rejection of the rules of primogeniture in the descent of estates, sufficiently discovers the democratical foundation upon which Penn deliberately resolved to rear his infant colony. The provisions of the criminal portions of "The Great Law" have given rise to some diversity of opinion; and a late historian* seems to think that those *contra bonos mores* pursue minor transgressions so far, that they smack of puritanism and severity. It is true that drinking, stage-plays, cards, cock-fighting, bull baits, masks, revels, &c. were forbidden, and punished by a brief imprisonment or a trifling penalty; but it must be recollected that these amusements, though some of them are permitted at the present day, were very likely to prove hurtful to a youthful colony, whose duties consisted in the destruction of the immense forests that surrounded them, and the advancement of agricultural and commercial industry. Penn too, as a man and a Christian, was anxious to reconstruct the social and moral edifice upon purer principles than the old; but though intent upon this, he used neither intolerance nor cruelty to aid him in the workmanship. No evidence of either is perceptible in his code. It proclaimed liberty to all, and hailed with open arms professors of every religious persuasion. Let the sanguinary penalties of the New England code, of 1641, be placed in opposition to its mild inflictions; or let its universal toleration be contrasted with the law of Connecticut, passed in 1705, against *heretics*.† If more be wanting, it may be added, that

* Mr. Gordon.

† This law was abolished by Queen Anne. After proscribing all kinds of *heretics*, it provides in particular, that *Quakers* shall be imprisoned or

Burke, Anderson, Oldmixon, Father O'Leary, Ebeling, and most of Penn's biographers, unite in attributing the superiority of Pennsylvania, in social happiness and domestic quiet, over the other settlements in America, to the influence of his early laws.

When the time limited in the Charter arrived, *all the inhabitants*, in compliance with its injunctions, were summoned by the proprietary to attend personally in convention. A form of government so entirely popular being waived by general consent, the power of legislation was conferred on twelve delegates from each of the counties, nine for the assembly and three for the council. As fears were expressed that an omission to use the legislative franchise in the manner pointed out by the constitution, rendered that instrument a nullity, Penn concurred with the people in framing a new Charter, which, after reducing the assembly to thirty-six members, and the council to eighteen, deprived him, as governor, of his treble vote in the latter. The privileges of the assembly were likewise amplified by a resolution of the house, approved by the proprietary, giving to them the power of originating as well as rejecting all legislative measures. And although a "courtly member," as we are told by Mr. Gordon, objected to such a pretension, it cannot be imputed to Penn, for we know not that he sanctioned the opposition; and we are directly informed by Ebeling, that some of the members endeavoured to extend his influence beyond the limits which he himself had prescribed. Ebeling, who seems coolly to have investigated the nature and consequences of these changes in the Charter, as

sent out of the colony; that all unnecessary discourse with *Quakers*, or the possession of their books, shall be penal; and that the master of a vessel, who shall land *Quakers* without carrying them away, shall pay the penalty of £20, &c.

well as justly appreciated the malevolence of "The Historical Review," has these words: "It is not to be denied, that all these alterations in the form of government, even where they appeared to increase the power of the proprietary, were still more favourable to the freedom of the inhabitants; and the pains which Penn took to simplify the constitution, evince his foresight as well as the goodness of his heart. A man of Franklin's mind and genius, therefore, should not have echoed the language which at a later period was held by a discontented assembly, and should not have accused Penn of craftily endeavouring to lessen the freedom that he had promised. The journals of the assembly, which this *severe judge* himself published, bear testimony that "that body solemnly returned thanks to the proprietary for granting them more liberty than they had expected."* The proprietary seemed desirous of reducing to practice his own description of freedom, by making, in fact, the people "parties to those laws" which their representatives enacted. For this purpose all bills to be proposed were directed to be published, to enable the members of assembly, together with their constituents, in their respective counties, to deliberate upon the nature and tendency of each previous to the general session. Such is the character of the measures taken, involving the rights and immunities of the subject, till Penn's departure from the province, in 1684. It is needless to follow the numerous disputes between his deputies and the assembly during the period of his absence. No doubt, Blackwell was frequently perverse, and the assembly being imperfectly acquainted with their legislative duties, were frequently obstinate. As they sometimes fancied themselves omnipotent in legislation, Penn thought proper, on one

* Ebeling's History of Pennsylvania, translated from the German by Mr. Du Ponceau—Chap. iii. Hazard's Register, 1 vol. page 354.

occasion, to reprove them, and to insist upon the necessity of his ratification: "The assembly," says he, "as they call themselves, are not so without the governor and privy council—no speaker, clerk, or book, belongs to them—the people have their representatives in the privy council," &c.

On his second visit to the province in 1699, understanding that some of the inhabitants were dissatisfied with the act of settlement ratified by Markham in 1696, he proposed to them the substitution of another. The charter drawn by the assembly, and even more liberal in privileges than those which preceded it, was confirmed by the proprietary in every particular which had relation to *rights* and civil *immunities;* but those articles which concerned property and entrenched on his private estate, he cancelled, at once, as an improper interference and evincing an unbecoming rapacity. This being the last charter of privileges, it is useless to pursue the history further, except to remark that the discontents of the assembly subsequently were engendered and kept alive partly by a factious spirit; partly by the indiscretions and follies of the deputy governors; and partly by supposed civil and financial grievances which, in fact, had no existence. The bone of contention between most of the governors and the different assemblies, were the quit-rents, which the popular party affected to regard as unjust and oppressive. An attempt to collect them rendered a governor immediately unpopular. But they seem to have been a fair claim on the principles of compact, and as such were sanctioned in all the proprietary establishments of N. America. Oldmixon, in his history of Carolina, says, "every planter pays one penny an acre quit-rent, unless he buys it off." The same privilege of reducing their quit-rents, was accorded by Penn to the inhabitants. In his account of the province, published in 1681, immediately after the ratification of the

Royal Charter, and before a single adventurer had sailed for Pennsylvania, he thus alludes to the subject: "and for the *quit-rent*, one English shilling, or the value of it, yearly, for a hundred acres; which such as will, may now, or hereafter, *buy off, to an inconsiderable matter;* but as I hold by a small rent of the king, so must all hold of me, by a small rent, for their own security."—When the conviction became prevalent that an annual render, by way of feudal acknowledgment, was necessary to perfection of title, since the proprietary held by a similar tenure from the crown, the basis of the objection was instantly changed. It was now insisted that the quit-rents were not granted for the private advantage of the proprietary, but to defray the expenses of government. The fallacy of such a notion is too readily demonstrated to require an elaborate argument. Suffice it to say, that a quit-rent of one shilling for every hundred acres formed a constituent part of the conditions of sale; that the language any where used is not susceptible of a different meaning; that a public appropriation of it was not in the minds of the original purchasers; that forty shillings in hand and one shilling yearly for ever were the consideration expressed in all the deeds;* and that there is nothing to countenance the construction contended for either in the original frame of government or the subsequent political conventions. In every light in which it can be regarded, it was certainly reasonable and just; for the pecuniary consideration of the grant of Pennsylvania, in the first place, was a debt of $16,000 due from the crown to Admiral Penn, and large disbursements were unavoidable in peopling a wilderness. Penn, therefore, considered these quit-rents, which, though trifling in their individual amounts, were large in the

* See note in 1 Proud, p. 190.

aggregate, as contributing to his indemnity, and furnishing a lawful source of personal revenue.

Nor is there more basis for the complaint that he did not comply, in all reasonable matters, with the requisitions of the assembly. Governors, whose religious feelings and sentiments, or unpopularity from what cause soever, rendered them odious to the people, were removed. Charters, as we have seen, were altered in compliance with their prejudices or partialities. And it is well known that after the restoration of the council to its original state as established in 1683, and the recall of Blackwell, Penn offered to the former the nomination of three or five persons, of whom he would select one for deputy governor. On another occasion he offered to accept any individual for governor whom they might nominate. To conciliate the estranged feelings of the province and territories, he gave them the choice of an executive either from the council, which was composed of delegates chosen by the inhabitants at large, or from five commissioners, or a deputy governor, appointed by himself. The concessions he made to the territories were numerous and important; among them may be enumerated his direction that the sessions of the assembly should be held at Newcastle once in three times for the convenience of their members; and his apportionment of their share of the public burden according to their ability. In short, without a minute recapitulation, it may be affirmed that he promptly rendered every assistance calculated to promote the ultimate advantage of the province, consistently with a regard to what he esteemed his own interests. All must own, who look impartially at the transactions of the times, that he had to deal with a querulous and suspicious assembly, too intent upon the enlargement of their own privileges properly to appreciate those of the proprietary. Though many who composed

it were men of acuteness and information, and all of them estimable as individuals and neighbours, yet the mass were *novi homines* in legislation, and had not studied very deeply the science of artificial rights and duties. William Penn was a man of refined and comprehensive intellect, who had dived below the surface in the philosophy of life and manners, and who had consecrated his being to the cause of religion and philanthropy. With these differences between them, it required something more ethereal than man however sublimated by piety, to hear with equanimity their crude objections to schemes of a high moral tendency, and their pragmatical interference in matters involving his plainest rights. As an example of the former, the assembly refused their concurrence to two bills framed and proposed by himself; one having for its object the protection of the Indians from existing abuses; and the other, the melioration of the negroes by regulating their morals and marriages. The introduction of articles into the draft of a charter presented to him for signature in 1701, for limiting the price of land; appropriating the bay-marshes to the public; and controlling his disposition of property contiguous to Philadelphia, may be cited as an instance of the latter. Nor was an indecorous and infamous letter, supposed to be the production of the speaker, David Lloyd, of factious memory, addressed and privately conveyed to the proprietary, wanting to estrange his affections from the provincial assembly. It is not surprising, therefore, that he could not always understand their remonstrances as literally correct, and that he should hesitate about the removal of Governor Evans, who, though perhaps on the whole deservedly disesteemed, may have been less criminal than represented. The efforts of Evans to raise a militia in defiance of the religious sentiments of the colonists, and the false alarms which he excited to prove the

faith or try the courage of the people, by circulating rumours that an enemy was approaching the city, though amusing, are altogether indefensible and improper.*

Among the imputations cast upon Penn by the assembly and the latter annalists, is one of serious import, and which, though in its offensive part destitute of foundation so far as I have been able to discover, shall receive a passing notice. It is that he gave private instructions to his deputies different from his public orders, and in violation of the charter. That private instructions were given at critical periods, considering the character of the popular elements, is highly probable; and the necessity of such a procedure appears to have been suggested by the plainest principles of expediency. I have not, however, met with an instance of the kind, and diligence of search has not been wanting; far less that he ever attempted an invasion of their chartered privileges. Akin to this, in point of justice, is the reproach of a recent historian, that he considered his frame of government, not as a contract between himself and the settlers, but as the gift of his special grace and revocable at his own pleasure. It is curious to trace the origin of this reflection. The Historical Review asserts that in 1686, he ordered the withdrawal of the charter by his commissioners;† this is repeated by Chalmers and Belknap; and after them, Mr. Gordon, departing a little from the

* The fever into which he threw the good people of the colony by these mischievous *alarms*, may be imagined by the following distich referring to them, extracted from an Almanac of 1705:

> "Wise men wonder, good men grieve,
> *Knaves invent, and fools believe, &c.*"

† See this refuted in a note to Ebeling's History of Pennsylvania, 1 vol. Hazard's Register, p. 357.

current in which they had so unresistingly glided, produces the charge that Penn, presuming it to be the offspring of his special favour, supposed that he possessed the power of revocation. Both these accusations are without the slightest evidence, except that which brings proof of unpardonable negligence and inattention on the part of the accusers. It is certain Penn imputed to the provincial council repeated infringements of the charter, which amounted, in his estimation, to a forfeiture, if he chose to avail himself of the advantage.* The correctness of this view is too obvious to require the aid of legal principles. A convention, the stipulations of which have been violated by one party, must surely be void or not, at the discretion of the other.

Several of the later historians, in the zeal of crimination or affected independence, have gone still further, and charged upon Penn the desire to exempt his proprietary estates from taxation. I do not agitate the question as to the right of a proprietary to this immunity—few perhaps will contend for such a right, I deny that during the life of William Penn it was once the subject of dispute. It was claimed not by himself but his successors, and even the Historical Review, upon which most of the subsequent chronicles have implicitly depended for the political misdeeds of Penn, confines it to them.† The contest began some time after his demise, and was carried on with most acrimony after the resignation of Hamilton, and chiefly, if not wholly, under the administration of Morris. William Penn, who contributed so largely to the disbursements of government, would probably have esteemed

* See Penn's letter to his commissioners, 1686, and letter to the council in the same year. In the latter he observes, "that the charter was forfeited if he would take advantage of it."

† The language used in the Review, p. 83, where it is first mentioned, is, "the *present proprietaries* insist, &c."

his exemption from greater grievances than this, a striking manifestation of personal kindness, and worthy of very grateful expressions to the Assembly. But very far from this is the fact; he was suffered to complain, and for years to reiterate the complaint, that the colony neglected not only the fulfilment of its promise to reimburse him for his accumulated expenses, but totally disregarded his urgent solicitations for the payment of his quit-rents. Some even resisted the demand, and it is related, that Joshua Carpenter, one of the wealthiest individuals of the province, by the advice of his counsel, D. Lloyd, suffered distress and contested the claim in court. This hostility on the part of some and the indifference of others, he esteemed, as they undoubtedly amounted to, a hardship; since the province was granted to him by Charles II., as an indemnity for an existing debt, and his expenditures, so early as 1685, according to his own estimate, exceeded his returns the sum of £6000. In 1694 his pecuniary exigencies induced him to solicit his friends in the province, to procure one hundred individuals, each of whom would advance him £100 for four years without interest. He writes to J. Logan in 1704, "Oh! Pennsylvania, what hast thou cost me! Above £30,000 more than I ever got by it." His embarrassments in 1709, obliged him to mortgage his proprietary estate for £6,600; and three years afterwards, when his necessities were very various and pressing, he resolved upon relinquishing it to Queen Anne for the sum of £20,000. It is well known, however, that though £12,000 was ultimately agreed upon as the consideration, and Penn received a part of the purchase money, the contract was subsequently declared void, by the concurring opinions of the crown lawyers and the ministry. It is not pretended that his pecuniary distresses arose entirely from his connection with the province; for his disbursements at court and

in Ireland, as he himself acknowledges, were enormous ; and an iniquitous steward, according to Besse and Oldmixon, exhausted his resources, and restrained his liberty within the privilege of the Fleet. But that his diversified munificence to the Indians and the province, as well as the parsimonious returns of the latter, contributed to the catastrophe, cannot admit of a doubt. Governor Evans, with what propriety I shall not now inquire, in one of his messages, says, "that the Proprietary, who, it was well known, had hitherto supported this government, had been frequently solicited, upon the treatment he had met with, to resign and throw up all without further care, &c." Clarkson says, "in America he had sacrificed a princely fortune for the public good." Penn himself says, in reference to the neglect on the part of the colony of his remittances, "that he would spend his private estate to discharge a public station." And as exemplifying his disinterested generosity towards the colony, it may be mentioned, that he declined accepting, in 1683, the impost on the exportation of certain articles offered him by the Assembly. From different motives than of pecuniary gain, however, he consented to receive a small duty on the importation of foreign wines and spirituous liquors in the following year, but this miserable pittance, we are informed, was slowly and partially collected. Surprise has sometimes been expressed that the fortune of William Penn should be embarrassed, when the proprietary estates in Pennsylvania, under his successors, were estimated by Dr. Franklin at the enormous amount of £10,000,000 sterling. If his own computation be entitled to credit, his losses, up to 1704, were very considerable ; and he agreed, as we have seen, in 1712, within six years of his demise, to part with all that remained for £12,000, being £4000 less than the original consideration. But it must be recollected that a

happy state of tranquillity, for the space of several years, succeeded the death of Penn; during which period, an unexampled increase of emigration, and the consequent extension of commerce, gave a new and golden prospect to the colonists; while land, commanding a ready sale to fresh swarms of successive adventurers, rose in price and swelled the coffers of the proprietaries.

William Penn's treatment of the Indians, though distinguished less by the dictates of justice than those of warm-hearted and benevolent generosity, has been reproached as emanating from the sordid motives of policy and selfishness. It is certainly not the doctrine of that charity "which thinketh no evil," to suppose because benign offices and interest concur, that all the benefactions rendered and pains submitted to, are to be ascribed to the exclusive influence of the latter. It is, in effect, blotting from the history of human actions all that is noble, praiseworthy, and exalted; for whose interest, both here and hereafter, is it not to discharge the duties of justice and beneficence? We must believe, in opposition to all the characteristic features of Penn, that he was capable of the most detestable hypocrisy, before we can impute to the influence of interest, all his zealous efforts in the cause of enlightening and benefiting the Indians. I do not perhaps place his exertions in this field, on too high a ground, when I assume that a deep religious sense of duty inspired and hallowed all his endeavours. In his petition to Charles II. for a charter, he declares one of his leading objects to be, "the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians." One of the considerations mentioned in the celebrated Charter itself, is his desire to reclaim and subdue, by kind and tender treatment, the wild dispositions of these children of nature.* Oldmixon, who, as he was a furious

* The language of the charter is, "Whereas our trusty and well beloved

revolutionist, entertained feelings inimical to William Penn, for his attachment to James II., bears the most honourable testimony to the disinterestedness and humanity with which he behaved towards the aborigines. In his account of the British colonies he tells us that Penn, previous to his departure from the province in 1684, had made a league of amity with *nineteen Indian nations*, and that he spent "some thousand pounds to instruct, support and oblige them." He admits that his bounty contributed to impair his estate; and gives all praise to the laws which he framed for protecting them against the abuse and cupidity of the settlers.* A contemporary writer,† after lauding the wisdom of his general laws and the uniform equity of his administration, speaks in terms of the highest eulogy of "his kind, just and prudent treatment of the native Indians." Indeed, at that day, it must have excited both wonder and admiration, that he should recognise as equal and treat with lenity, hordes of infidel savages who were accustomed to be considered by Europeans as the legitimate objects of violence, rapine and murder. In a word, touching the subject of motive, if evidence demonstrating his instant and continued recognition of their title to exclusive property in the soil till surrendered; if unremitting vigilance over their rights; munificent expenditure of money

subject, William Penn, Esq., son and heir of Sir William Penn, deceased, out of a commendable desire to enlarge our British empire, and promote such useful commodities, as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, as also to reduce the savage natives by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and Christian religion, hath humbly besought leave of us," &c.

* See also on this subject, Mr. Roberts Vaux's Anniversary Discourse delivered before the Historical Society, Jan. 1, 1827, in Memoirs, 2 vol. part I.

† Anderson.

for their physical benefit; fervent endeavours for their moral and mental melioration; and the scrupulous redemption of every pledge or promise, be sufficient to authorise a favourable interpretation, the solution of the question is void of difficulty. It only requires an eye to glance through the history of his transactions with this helpless and untutored race, from the period of the first treaty in 1682, to the time of his final separation from the province, and even up to the year 1712, to be convinced of the existence of a zeal and magnanimity which can only be explained by referring them to a fervid, conscientious benevolence. No spectacle can be more beautiful than that of the first treaty, which presents a ruthless band of barbarian warriors, whose delight were undistinguishing bloodshed and brutal carnage, tamed and overcome by the voice of Christianity and peace. On this victory, it has been remarked, modern history may dwell with pleasure; and we want not the testimony of Voltaire and the Abbe Raynal—though estimable in themselves—to the fidelity with which the stipulations were performed,—to ensure a conviction that the common God of the Christian and the Indian, guarded the place and sanctified the meeting. As the character of Penn's negotiations with the aborigines is so generally known that a reference to them in detail, can only be the repetition of a story often told, I shall merely observe that the affection they ever retained and expressed for the good *Onas*, is a gratifying and conclusive attestation of his justice, sincerity, and beneficence.*

* See De Witt Clinton's address before the New York Historical Society in 1811, where it is mentioned that the Shawanese, who had been subjugated by the Five Nations, were permitted by Penn to settle in the western part of Pennsylvania.

Having now disposed of the charges which concern William Penn as proprietary of Pennsylvania, I come to the discussion of the dispositions which have been attributed to him, considered as a man and a Christian. I approach these with reluctance, not solely on account of their intrinsic delicacy, but because most of the reflections have been made or repeated by Mr. Gordon in his recent history of Pennsylvania. It is a subject of regret that a history which discovers creditable research, care, and precision, should have given its sanction to opinions involving the reputation of an individual, whose illustrious deeds form one of the brightest pages in the national annals. Independence is necessary to the integrity of narrative, and when, as the champion of truth and the dispenser of justice, the historian perceives impropriety of action or obliquity of motive, and has proofs not to be controverted—facts unequivocal and superior to distrust or explanation—he is bound in honour and in conscience fearlessly to record the fruit of his investigations. But it is certainly a more pleasing task to present unveiled the beauty and dignity of virtue, where nothing appeared but the deformity of vice—to remove the film of prejudice and blot out the errors of misconception. It was with pain, therefore, that we saw scattered over Mr. Gordon's book, the charges, that the province was too quiet, monotonous, and circumscribed for Penn's ambitious longing after distinction; that the gratifications of the court of St. James were too alluring for the lifeless tedium and unattractive obscurity of such a residence; that he sacrificed his time and fortune in the pursuit of fame; and that having drunk deeply in common with his sect, "of the puritanical spirit which drew its jurisprudence from the Old Testament," his laws in reference to the minor morals of society were unnecessarily severe.*—

* See Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, pages 71. 83. 88. 176.

Perhaps of all the imputations which have been brought to sully the memory of Penn, that which ascribes to him worldly ambition, is the least susceptible of support. The solemnity of his ministerial or pastoral character—his life spent in acts of unostentatious benevolence—his habitual self-denial—his superiority to the utmost inflictions of sectarian fervour—as they should have protected him from such a suspicion—are all directly at variance with the probability of its truth. A synoptical view of his life will abundantly repel the charge.

The brilliant prospects offered to William Penn from the rank of his family, and the political connections of his father, were sacrificed or relinquished, at an early age, by his adherence to a despised sect. Neither contempt nor reproaches, the indignation of a doting parent nor repeated imprisonments, were capable of affecting the self-denying tenacity of his purpose. Reviled for the adoption of a garb and manners esteemed uncouth and repulsive, he was shunned by the companions of his youth; while his disregard for the rituals of the national church induced the belief that he was an enemy to religion. No course of conduct could be more at war with the suggestions of ambition than that which he pursued, in defiance both of the entreaties of Sir William, and the uplifted and powerful arm of secular authority. In opposition to the sentiments of all who could accelerate his rise, or promote his interests, in England, he devoted the powers of his mind to the grand scheme of universal toleration. He made it the ground-work of his social system in Pennsylvania; to promote it he renounced fortune, and subjected himself to all the evils arising from exasperated sectarian zeal. Reports the most injurious to his pretensions, as a Quaker, were circulated against him, in consequence of these exertions. He was called a Jesuit—declared to have been educated at St. Omer's—to have taken orders at Rome—

obtained a dispensation to marry—and officiated, in many instances, as a priest at Whitehall, St. James's, and elsewhere.* So fierce and loud were his enemies, and so serious the nature of some of the charges, that he was for a temporary period abandoned by the most estimable of his associates. Among it all he was capable of using language such as the following: "I have been made willing to relinquish and forsake all the vain fashions, enticing pleasures, alluring honours, and glittering glories of this transitory world, and readily to accept the portion of a fool, from this deriding generation, and become a man of sorrows, and a perpetual reproach to my familiars."†

His attendance at court was prompted by pure and disinterested views of benefit to his sect, his colony, and the cause of religious freedom. Through his instrumentality the privileges of the first were enlarged by the dispensation of oaths; wrongs inflicted upon the second, were redressed and its rights restored; and the latter was promoted and finally recognised. We have many proofs of his ready access to the monarch; and we are not left without the reasons, as well as consequences resulting from it. James II. while duke of York, was the friend of Sir William; and upon his accession to the throne, having promised protection to the son, transferred to him his warm attachment for the father. William Penn was held in so high esteem that he enjoyed the royal presence in exclusion of the best peers of the realm, and was permitted to entertain confidential discourse with the sovereign for hours together. Matters, it is related, of the utmost secrecy and importance were communicatedto him with freedom. What an opportunity was here presented for the gratification of ambition; for aggrandizement and office! But in

* See Penn's reply to Popple's letter for a refutation of these charges.

† "Innocency with her Open Face, &c."—written while a prisoner in the tower.

the whole course of his correspondence with James, from the period of his accession to his flight into France, we do not see a single instance of interested solicitation. He derived from it neither personal nor pecuniary advantage; no emolument of any kind, or function that could satisfy the pruriency of an aspiring man. It was the instrument only of doing good to others. The royal sun-shine in which he seemed to bask, while its genial and invigorating rays were freely imparted to all for whom it was solicited, only served to dry up *his* means, and to stop the fair current of *his* prospects. To it, in a great measure, may be attributed the calumnies of Bishop Burnet, the insinuations of Lord Littleton, the hue and cry of the high church party, the temporary deprivation of his province, and the other numerous injuries to which he was subjected in the early part of the subsequent reign. His mission to the Hague was signalised by an act of private justice, which reflects upon him distinguished honour. At his urgent request, the king permitted him to invite the return to England of the illustrious Locke, then a voluntary exile in Holland on account of an arbitrary divesture of his rights at Oxford. The act of toleration which passed during the reign of William and Mary, has been justly ascribed to the impression produced by his writings and conversation, both upon the king, while Prince of Orange, and the people. He laboured not merely for toleration but the removal of tests; and it was in reference to this subject, at the Hague, that he is said to have irritated Burnet who was endeavouring to persuade the prince against giving it his sanction. The discussion of the topic left Burnet in a fever which displays its effects by a sneer, in his famous "History of his own Times," whenever the occasion justifies an allusion to Penn. It cannot be necessary to detail the evidences of the zeal or the amplitude of his efforts in regard to his sect or colony;

suffice it to say, that in every emergency he was the eloquent and successful organ of both. But the public benefactions which he was the means of dispensing, are not the most amiable fruits of his influence and familiarity with James. Bernard Croese relates that Penn's house and gates were always thronged with suppliants, desiring him to present their addresses to his majesty; and that sometimes "*more than two hundred*" were to be seen soliciting an audience. His fearless and laudable conduct in writing a letter to the king on behalf of the fellows of Magdalen College, after the royal determination had been made and expressed to elect a Catholic to the vacant presidentship, is attested in highly honourable terms by Creech, Dr. Sykes, and Sewel, in his "History of the Quakers." In giving an account of this epistle to Dr. Charlett, Creech says, that Penn nobly told the king, that he required a breach of their oaths, and that "such mandates were a force on the conscience and not very agreeable to his other gracious indulgences." I cannot omit an additional instance of the private favours conferred through his agency, to elucidate the disinterested benevolence of his leading purposes. It is mentioned by the Earl of Buchan in his lives of Fletcher of Saltoun, and Thomson. Penn, having become acquainted with the Scotch fugitives in Holland, most of whom were persecuted Presbyterians, on his return to England, advised the measure of an indemnity and recall. Sir Robert Stewart of Coltness, who was among them, availed himself of the indemnity and returned to his native country. Some time after, Penn, meeting him in London, congratulated him on the pleasure of realizing the "*mihi me reddentis agelli*" of Horace. Sir Robert sighed and informed him that he had indeed returned home, but that he was stripped of his possessions which were in the occu-

pancy of the Earl of Arran. Penn waited immediately on the Earl, who alleged in justification that he had had received no other recompense than this estate for his troublesome and expensive embassy to France. He was reminded in return that what he had accepted, belonged to another; and told that if he did not instantly give an order for £200 to defray the expenses of Sir Robert to Scotland, and present security for the payment of a hundred a year, for his subsistence till political matters were adjusted, it should be made "*many thousands out of his way with the king.*" This menace produced an immediate compliance with Penn's demand, and after the revolution which happened in two years, Sir Robert's estate was wholly restored with the rents that had been intermediately received, subject only to the reduction of the advancements referred to. Thus was Penn's connection with the reigning prince, employed in the unostentatious discharge of the offices of public good and private justice, seeking less the removal of the odious suspicions which attached to himself than the accomplishment of his great and generous projects.

It is easy to perceive that his engagement in such vast and extensive concerns should necessarily prevent a visitation to the province during its continuance. The state of affairs, it is well known, consequent upon the revolution of 1688 which deprived James and his posterity of the throne, vested the regal office in William and Mary, and excluded papists from the succession, rendered Penn's absence from England injudicious if not dangerous. But his private epistles to his friends in Pennsylvania, prior to and during this perilous period, bespeak the strength of his desire to visit them, and the ardour of his attachment and solicitude. His valedictory letter on leaving the province in 1684, contains this beautiful apostrophe to Philadelphia: "And thou, Philadelphia,

the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! Oh, that thou mayst be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee; that faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayst be preserved to the end:—my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power:—my love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye!—The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee, to his glory and thy peace." Immediately after his arrival in England, he writes, "I hope to be with you next fall if the Lord prevent not—I long to be with you," &c. In an epistle written in 1686, after alluding to the obstacles which prevented him from leaving England, he says, "But this I will say, no temporal honour, or profit, can tempt me to decline poor Pennsylvania, as unkindly used as I am; and no poor slave in Turkey desires more earnestly, I believe, for deliverance, than I do to be with you; wherefore be contented a while, and God in his time will bring us together," &c. Two years after, in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, he says, "No honour, interest or pleasure in this part of the world, shall be able to check my desires to live and die among you." Again, he writes, "I am here serving God, Friends, and the *nation;* which I hope God will reward to mine and you." A brief period posterior to this, when he had actually commenced preparations for a voyage, he was arrested and brought before the Lords of the Council, upon the accusation of holding a treasonable correspondence with the deposed James, and plotting his return. No sooner was he acquitted of this

charge, than he was imprisoned in pursuance of a proclamation by the Queen, during the absence of William in Ireland. Again he was ready to sail for America, when the death of the great George Fox arrested his purpose; and at that very time while attending the interment of his friend, emissaries were in pursuit of him, on account of a diabolical crimination, under oath, of the infamous Fuller. Prudence now suggesting the propriety of privacy, and apprehending that if he joined the emigrants then about to sail for Pennsylvania, the circumstance would be viewed as an indication of guilt, he determined upon remaining in England. A second proclamation having denounced him as an accomplice in the conspiracy excited by the Earl of Clarendon for the restoration of the dethroned monarch, he judged it proper still to consult his safety by continuing in retirement. The seclusion which he sought, I may observe in passing, was enlivened by the occasional visits of his friends, among whom was the great author of "The Essay on the Human Understanding." Locke volunteered to procure his pardon; but as forgiveness pre-supposed the commission of crime, Penn delicately declined the offer. During this recession from the concerns of the external world, his active mind produced, besides the prefaces to the works of Barclay and Burnyeat, a variety of treatises, intended principally to harmonize conflicting views in his own society; to vindicate their doctrines from recent perversions, and to demonstrate the feasibility of maintaining between nations perpetual peace.* The merits of these several performances

* Among the works written during this period, are "Just Measures," "The Key," "The new Athenians no noble Bereans," "Fruits of Solitude," "An Essay towards the present and future Peace of Europe."

are not the subject of discussion; they are alluded to merely as showing the current of his thoughts, and that, under every variety of distress, he was not unmindful of the principles for which he had been so long contending. In the midst of these afflictions and labours he received exaggerated intelligence of the unhappy condition of his province—of strong dissentions between the province and territories; and warm animosities excited by the arts of a furious and violent schismatic.* The king, already prejudiced against him, upon being informed of these disasters, deprived him, without hesitation, of the colony as incapable of governing. It may easily be conceived how the effect of these accumulated calamities was increased, at this period, by domestic grief, in the sickness and death of his cherished and amiable consort. The measure of his sufferings was now full. Being the object of numerous accusations, he began to be suspected and forsaken by those who had long extended to him the hand of friendship; his fortune was gone with the province in which it had been generously expended; and even the partner of his bosom, who had so often alleviated his cares, had left him friendless and alone. Amid these complicated sorrows and misfortunes he still felt a parental solicitude for infant Pennsylvania; being anxious to shelter from the rudeness of a stranger's grasp, the tender plant he had so fondly nurtured. He wished to visit it, to protect from infringement the constitution he had framed, and the great principles of freedom, peace, toleration, and clemency, upon which it was founded. But the embarrassments of a crippled fortune forbade the accomplishment of such an intention; and after his honourable acquittal, his return into favour with the king, the restitution of his province, and his restoration to society, his desire to go thither continued unabated, and its execution was only

* Keith.

prevented by the exigencies of his affairs. The interval between this period and 1699, when he actually visited Pennsylvania, was filled up by labours in the ministry and the composition of many useful treatises, all in unison with the doctrines he had advocated, breathing unrestrained freedom in religious creed, and inculcating the useful lessons of probity and virtue. It is universally known that he revisited the province with the intention of passing there the residue of his life, and that his departure from it was rendered necessary for its preservation. A circumstance, according to Sutcliff, which happened during his sojourn here, may be mentioned as tending to unfold or elucidate the prevailing dispositions of the proprietary of Pennsylvania. The curiosity, felt by most of the inhabitants to see the person of their governor on his second arrival, was shared by a youth, twelve years of age, a son of the individual with whom Penn had taken up his residence. The boy crept softly up a flight of steps on the outside of the house, leading to Penn's apartment; and on peeping through the latchet-hole, beheld with awe the governor on his knees in supplication to the Deity. The impression, produced by this spectacle upon the mind of the lad, was not obliterated when the lengthened shadows of life had anonunced to him the approach of its evening. To those who believe that William Penn, or his sect, draw "their jurisprudence from the Old Testament," may be recommended a reference to the numerous doctrinal productions of the former, particularly his "Key," published in 1693. Any one, however, indifferently selected from his works, will amply display the *misinformation* of the impugner.—This glance, rapid and superficial as it is, at the prominent objects of Penn's labours, is sufficient to show that the charges of ambition and neglect of his colony are without adequate foundation. The beneficent employments

of his leisure; the pure motives as well as beneficial consequences of his intercourse with James II.; his many neglected opportunities for political or personal promotion; his sacrifices for Pennsylvania; his watchfulness over its rights; and the repeated expressions of his anxiety for its welfare; are all arrayed in opposition. In fine, it must be evident to the candid examiner of the character of William Penn, that though a rigid analysis of its several parts may discover the slight blemishes or venial weaknesses of humanity, their union presents as admirable a whole—as transcendantly good and great in point of general structure—as the page of biography exhibits.

MEMORIALS

OF

COUNTRY TOWNS AND PLACES

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

AS DRAWN UP BY

JOHN F. WATSON,

AND

PRESENTED TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, Feb. 17, 1830.

COUNTRY TOWNS AND PLACES.

In preserving the present notices of the early settlement of several country towns and places, we have been led by a wish to show an example of what may be done, and thereby to stimulate others, who have the means to contribute to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania or otherwise, what they can yet glean of the primitive settlements in our state.

We offer now to the reader some notices of Frankford, Chester County, Gwynned, Wilmington, Burlington, Bucks County, and Pennsburg, to wit:—

FRANKFORD.

There has been an opinion prevalent about Frankford village, that it derived its name from *Frank*, a black fellow, and *his ford*, where he kept a ferry for passengers on foot; but besides its looking too artificial to be true, there are obvious reasons against that cause of its name. I see it as early as 1701, referred to in a public petition concerning a road, under the name of Frankford; besides, it lies on the creek, the Indian Wingshocking, which comes from the "*Frankford* Company's land" in Germantown. It was their proper water passage to the river.

Jonathan Dickinson in 1715, writing respecting Fairman's land at "Frankford Creek," says, "*a ford* there will be very needful, and very expensive, as the winds drive the waters from the Delaware *over* much marshy land there."* For 220 acres he offers £400. It falls short in survey 37 acres, thus showing how vaguely it was first done. He says it cannot be surveyed on the marsh [now all converted into productive meadows, &c.] till the winter is so as to go over it on the ice. He states that 100 loads of timber were cut off it, because untenanted in the last winter, *by moon-light night.* Thus there were great depredators *then!* They probably cut it for staves and ship timber.

In the year 1814, Christopher Kuhn of Frankford was digging a cellar foundation for a small store house, on Kinsey and Hille's present tanyard, on the Frankford creek, close to the bank where it is high; and at three feet depth he came to an earthen vessel highly glazed, which held about half a pint, and contained 100 pieces of various sizes and shapes of *silver* coin. None of it was left to be shown to me; the whole having been sold soon after to the silver smiths as old silver! On questioning him as to their character, he stated, there were many *cut pieces* of the size which would remain in cutting quarters and halves of dollars into sections of four pieces each. He observed dates to some as much as 300 years old. One piece was as large as a crown and was *square.* Two pieces had a tree on one side, and was marked *Massachusetts;* such a coin I have myself of the year 1652. On the whole, the vessel contained quite a treasure for a collector, and yet none were saved!

The aged Giles Gillingham who died at Franklin in 1825, at the age of 93 years, said that when he was a boy, it was

* Thos. Fairman had been a surveyor, who dwelt at the *Treaty Tree.*

quite common with him to play with Indian boys in the neighbourhood. Frankford then had but very few houses, and was often called Oxford after the name of its township. About the time of Braddock's defeat, there came an Indian from a distance, blowing a horn as he entered the Indians' place; they soon went off with him, and were no more seen near the place.

The Frankford Mill, now possessed by Mr. Duffield, was originally used as a mill by the *Swedes* before Penn landed. The earliest house in the place—now Wm. Kinsey's—near the same mill, was deeded to Yeamans Gillingham, by Penn's commissioners in 1695. The "Swedes Mill" was probably a *saw* mill, as *wind* mills were first used for grist.

It appears, by the minutes of council, that the inhabitants of Frankford petition in 1726, that the road may be *altered*, so as to have but *one* bridge in use, instead of the *two* then existing.

CHESTER COUNTY.

This county, one of the finest in the state, both in regard to soil and the excellence of its population, has long had an intelligent and observing people, careful to preserve the recollection of their fore-fathers, and to foster among them the last remains of the Indian race. Some fugitive facts, which have come to my knowledge, I here endeavour to preserve, to wit:—

William Worrall, who lived to near the age of a century, and who died within two or three years ago, a close observer of passing events, and strictly honest to relate them, in his last days, related in substance the following facts, to wit:—

He was born in Maple township, sixteen miles from

Philadelphia, on the 29th November, 1730. When he first visited Philadelphia, the court was held in the old court house. The few stores of the town were close by, and were kept like country stores now, each having a general assortment. The Philadelphia and Chester road, then called "the queen's road," was the only leading road in the county. From Gray's ferry to the city, he remembered only one house, the seat of John Kinsey, the same now near the Naval Asylum. In the country there were no carts, much less pleasure carriages. They hauled their grain on sleds to the stacks, where a temporary thrashing-floor was made. He assisted his father to carry on horseback 100 bushels of wheat to Charles Humphrey's mill in Haverford, which he sold for two shillings a bushel. The natural meadows and woods were the only pasture for their cattle; and the butchers from Philadelphia would come out and buy one, two, or three head of cattle, from such as could spare them as their surplus.

In the year 1755–56, the springs in his neighbourhood were lower than he has ever seen them since; an evidence of this fact is, the spring before his dwelling was dry, which has never occurred since; and Daniel Sharpless' race, on which Beatty has a tilt mill, was dried up. The oat crop nearly failed, being only a few inches high. The wheat was thin, but the grain heavy and of excellent quality.

He recollected when there were great quantities of wild turkeys; and a flight of pigeons which lasted two days—they flew in such immense flocks as to obscure the rays of the sun. Thomas Cobourn, Caleb Harrison, and Peter Heston, went out at night into Martin's bottom; and they told him that they could not hear each other speak. On viewing the place next morning, they found large limbs of the trees broken off, from the immense weight and pressure

of the lodgers. At one time a large bear made an inroad into the neighbourhood, and escaped with impunity, although great exertions were made to secure him.

He never saw coffee or tea until he was twenty years of age; then his father brought some tea from Philadelphia; and his aunt, who lived with them and had charge of the house, did not know how to use it until she received information from one of her more refined neighbours. This prudent conduct was not imitated by one of her incautious friends, who boiled the leaves and buttered them!

The marriage ceremony was much the same as at the present day. The bride rode to meeting behind her father, or next friend, seated on a pillion; after the ceremony, and when they were ready to return home, the pillion was placed behind the saddle of her husband. The dead were carried to the place of interment on the shoulders of four men—the coffin was swung on poles, in order that they might wind along the paths with more ease.

Some of the inhabitants, older than Mr. Worrall, pointed out to him the path of William Penn and his followers, where it crossed his farm in Ridley township. He has frequently on a certain part of it, in his rotation of ploughing, found nails, which he supposed to have belonged to some travellers.

William Mode, who lived on the west branch of Brandywine, Chester county, (he died in 1829,) states that he was born in the year 1742. That he remembered the Indians—men, women, and children—coming to his father's house to sell baskets, &c.; and that they used to cut and carry off bushes from his father's meadow, probably for mats to sleep on. The deer in his boyhood were so plenty, that their tracks in the wheat field, in time of snow, were as if marked by a flock of sheep: at one time his father brought

home two of them on his sled. Wild turkeys in the winter were often seen in flocks, feeding in the corn and buckwheat fields. Foxes often carried off their poultry: a man who was thrashing, having seen one approaching the barn, he concealed himself, and with a club killed it. Squirrels, rabbits, racoons, pheasants, and partridges, were very numerous, notwithstanding the then severe winters. Snow knee deep, drifted in bleak places as high as the fences; and Brandywine was crossed by loaded wagons, on the ice, for weeks together.

Samuel Jefferis, who died in 1823 at the age of eighty-seven years, in the borough of West Chester, used to say he was one of the few who could remember so long back as to the time when deer were *plenty* in the woods of Chester county—when a hunter occasionally killed a bear—and when a few of the native Indians still inhabited their original fields. When he died he was followed to his grave by his brother, then ninety-two years of age.

Professor Kalm, when in this country, in 1748, as a traveller, notices the then state of the county of Chester. The forest he observed as unobstructed with underwood. Mulberry and tulip trees were common—grape vines were numerous, and the thorn apple abounded near the houses. Most of the houses were wooden, of logs, and the crevices stopped up with clay instead of moss, as he saw used in Sweden. No valves were to be met with in their chimneys, and the people did not seem to know what he meant by them.

In the winter of 1823–4, my friend, I. J. Lewis, Esq., interested himself, and gratified the public, by some occasional notices, in the "Village Record," of the incidents of the olden times in Chester county.

GWYNNED.

The late venerable Jesse Foulke stated, in substance, the following facts concerning what he knew of the settlement of Gwynned, to wit:—

In the year 1698, the township was purchased of William Penn, by William Jones and Thomas Evans, and distributed among original settlers, to wit: William Jones and Thomas, Robert, Owen, and Cadwallader Evans, Hugh Griffiths, Edward Foulke, Robert Jones, John Hugh, and John Humphrey. Only the *two* last were then Friends—all were Welshmen; and all except the two Friends were churchmen. These held their meetings at Robert Evans'; and there Cadwallader Evans was in the practice to read from the Bible to the people.

But, as Cadwallader Evans himself related, he was going as usual to his brother Robert's, when passing near the road to Friends' meeting, held at John Hughs' and John Humphreys', it seemed as if he was impressed "to go down and see how the Quakers do." This he mentioned to his friends, at the close of his *own* meeting, and they all agreed to go to the Friends' the next time; and where they were all so well satisfied, that they never again met in their own worship.

In 1700, they built a log meeting, near where the present one stands. This gave place to a larger one of stone, 1712; and in 1823, that was removed for a still larger one.

I have given the foregoing recital, of the manner of Evans' convincement, in the words of Mr. Foulke; but his kinswoman, Susan Nancarro, who died lately at the age of eighty years, told it to me in a manner a little variant. She said, that the brothers read *the public services* of their church, and convened in a summer house. As one of the brothers was

once going to that place, he passed where William Penn was speaking, and willing to hearken to *him*, he became so earnestly convinced that way, that he succeeded to bring over all his brethren.

Mrs. Nancarro had often seen and conversed with her grand-father, Hugh Evans, who lived to be ninety years of age. When he was a boy, of twelve years of age, he remembered well that William Penn, with his daughter Letitia and a servant (in the year 1699 or 1700), came out on horseback to visit his father, Thomas Evans. Their house then was *superior*, in that it was of *barked* logs, a refinement surpassing the common rank. At that house, William Penn ascended steps *on the outside* to go to his bed-chamber; and the lad of twelve, being anxious to see all he could of so distinguished a man, went up afterwards to peep through the apertures at him; and there he well remembered to have seen him on his knees praying, and giving thanks to God for such peaceful and excellent shelter in the wilderness! What a subject for a painter! I heard Mrs. D. L. say, she also heard the same facts from old Hugh Evans.

There was at this time a great preparation among the Indians near there for some public festival. Letitia Penn, then a lively young girl, greatly desired to be present; but her father would not give his consent, although she entreated much. The same informant says, she run out chagrined, and seeming to wish for something to dissipate her regret, snatched up a flail near some grain, at which she began to labour playfully, when she inadvertently brought the unwieldy instrument severely about her head and shoulders; and was thus quickly constrained to retreat into the house, with quite a new concern upon her mind! This fact made a lasting impression upon the memory of the lad aforesaid, who then was a witness.

BURLINGTON.

I have preserved an original *autograph* descriptive of the first settlement of Burlington as known to Mrs. *Mary Smith*, a Friend, who arrived with the primitive colonists when she was but four years of age. The original paper may be curious to inspect, as it exhibits the first specimen of writing ever *learned* in our country.

"Robert Murfin and Ann his wife, living in Nottinghamshire, England, had one daughter born there in the year 1764, the 4th of the 2d month, named *Mary*, (the writer of this account, who married the first Daniel Smith of Burlington.) After that, they had a son called Robert.

"Some time after, it came in their minds to move themselves and family into West Jersey in America; and in order thereto, they went to Hull and provided provisions suitable for their necessary occasions,—such as fine flour, butter, cheese, with other suitable commodities in good store; then took their passage in the good ship called the Shield of Stockton, with Mahlon Stacey, Thomas Lambert, and many more families of good repute and worth: and in the voyage there were two died and two born; so that they landed as many as they took on board. And after about *sixteen weeks* sailing, or on board, they arrived at Burlington in the year 1678; this being the *first* ship that ever was known to come so high up the Delaware river. Then they landed and made some such dwellings as they could for the present time;—some in caves, and others in pallisade-houses secured. With that, the Indians, very numerous, but very civil, for the most part, brought corn and venison, and sold to the English for such things as they needed; so that the said English had some new supply to help their old stock, which may well

be attributed to the good hand of Providence, so to preserve and provide in such a wilderness.

"I may not omit some English that came the year before, which landed lower down the river, and were gotten to Burlington, who came up in some small vessel up to Burlington before us,—and was so consented to by the Indians.

"The first comers with the others that came near that time, made an agreement with the Indians for their land,—being after this manner:—From the river to such and such creeks, and was to be paid in goods, after this manner, say—so many match coats, guns, hatchets, hoes, kettles—two full boxes, with other materials, all in number as agreed upon of both Indians and English. When these goods were gotten from England and the Indians paid, then the above mentioned people surrendered some part of the land to settle themselves near the river;—for they did not dare to go far from it at first.

"I must not forget, that these valiant subjects, both to God and their king, did buy their land in Old England before they entered (upon this engagement,) and after all this, did submit themselves to mean living, taking it with thankfulness, mean and coarse; as pounding Indian corn one day for the next day; for there was no mill, except some few steed-mills, and (we) thought so well of this kind of hard living, that I never heard them say, 'I would I had never come!' which is worth observing, considering how plentifully they lived in England. It seems no other than the hand of God, so to send them to prepare a place for the future generations. I wish they that come after, may *consider these things*, and not be like the children of Israel after they were settled in the land of Canaan, forgetting the God of their fathers and following their own vanities; and so bring displeasure, in-

stead of the blessings of God upon themselves; which fall and loss will be very great on all such.

Now to return to Robert Murfin and his wife: after they came into this land, they had one son called *John;* and in the year 1681, they had another son called *William;* and in the year 1684, they had a daughter called *Johanah.* Robert and John died young.*

"It may be observed how God's providence made room for us in a wonderful manner, in taking away the Indians. There came a distemper among them so mortal that they could not bury all the dead. Others went away, leaving their town. It was said that an old Indian king spoke prophetically before his death and said, "the English should *increase* and the Indians decrease!"

An ancient printed small book, set forth about the year 1700 to promote the *Keithian* heresy, thus speaks of Burlington, to wit: "From parsimony they would buy no burial place there, but buried in the public street or highway." An acrostic too is made on the place of which a part reads thus, viz.

"Base as thy birth and *burial* like a thief,
Undone, when first conceiv'd beyond relief—
I've read the fates, and in these books can say
Nothing but shame to be thy destiny!"

It even accuses the Friends there of building their meeting house on T. Radyard's land, an absentee, and "when he arrived he demanded £15, which they refused"—"afterwards Sarah Farr conveys it as a gift to the loss of Radyard's heirs,

* "Mary Smith was found drowned with her horse, in the year 1739, near the Long Bridge in the Northern Liberties; supposed to have occurred from her intending to give her horse water, where it was very deep." That was then the direct and only "road to Burlington."

for she soon dies."—Such was the scandal which perverted the minds of some ill tempered religionists in that day.

WILMINGTON.

An aged gentleman of that place lately drew up some of his reminiscences of times by-gone to the following effect, to wit: "As there seems a desire in the present generation to hear from us old men what passed in our youth, I will herein state some few circumstances calculated to mark the passing changes of the times, to wit:

"When very young, I recollect being near where the lower wharf now stands, and seeing a vessel of two masts anchored in the stream, with her decks full of negroes, slaves from Africa. This was probably about the year 1760, and had been sent among us by the British owners from the West Indies. On or about the year 1764 a gang or drove of slaves, about twenty or thirty in number, were passing my father's door driven by their owners for sale. As Friends at that time held slaves, my mother purchased a boy of eight or nine years of age, who long remained in the family, and was finally manumitted.

"Caleb Seal, who died in the borough in 1824, in his ninety-third year, informed the reminiscent, that he knew Wilmington when a calf of common size furnished fresh meat sufficient for the inhabitants on an ordinary market day. Indian corn is an article of modern culture as a crop in Chester county; as he remembers his friends from Concord and Birmingham, used to go to New Castle neighbourhood to buy a few bushels every fall. The millers of Brandywine had their supply of that article from the south of this state and Maryland: now Chester county alone, could give a supply. The method of culture is also changed; for then we made a hill

round the stalks. The grazing of cattle was not attended to, as now, for the market. Few fatted more than served their own use. Within the last twenty-five years, the number of fat cattle have been tripled.

The first green silk umbrella seen, was brought by Captain Bennet from Lisbon, for his wife or eldest daughter; the second by John Ferris, for his first wife Lydia, from the same place and by the same captain; and I believe the third, was by my father from the West Indies; and I remember being so much ashamed of it, that I held it but a few minutes over me, while walking by his side one day. I suppose about the year 1770.

At and about the year 1765, the country people were supplied with spring and fall goods by attending fairs, held then in all the towns and villages. These were well attended by old and young of both sexes; some to buy, and many for fun and frolic. The young men, if the day was fine, came to the fair by hundreds, (with a fine lassie along side,) in their shirt sleeves nicely plaited and crimped as high as the elbow, above which, it was tied with a string of coloured tape or ribband called sleeve strings. Their coats were tied behind the saddle; they had thin soaled shoes for dancing; they wore two pair of stockings; the inner pair generally white, and the outer pair generally blue yarn; the top rolled neatly below the breeches knee band, so as to show the inner white, and guard it from the dirt from the horse's feet; for boots were not known. I never recollect to have seen a solitary pair of boots worn, although I must have seen some thousands of young men going to, or at, or from, the fairs. But now I see the same class of persons generally in boots, and umbrellas are carried by them on horseback. At that day a man booted and covered by an umbrella, would have been exposed to scoffs, as a vain effeminate. When we

visited in the country, they gave us of their best mush and milk, apple and peach pie; cheese curds and new milk; sometimes cream, with home made wine and sugar; bread and cheese and custards; but no tea or coffee was seen. The same families have since furnished their guests with coffee, tea, or chocolate, and with preserves of many kinds. The dinnr t ables too, groaning under its weight of ham, poultry, beef, mutton, &c.; and the second course, a new thing, consisting of puddings, pies, tarts, custards, &c.

Another reminiscent thus speaks of the ancient and venerable "*Trinity Church*," originally founded by the Swedes, when they possessed the site of Wilmington under the name of Christiana. It was built in 1698, and stands near the Christiana, not far from the spot where the first Swedes located themselves in 1631. The presumption is, that a church was built anterior to this, at some distance on the other side of the creek, the site of which is marked by a few tomb stones near beneath the shade of an apple orchard.

BUCKS COUNTY.

A descendant of Phineas Pemberton has shown me the original rough draft minutes of the court of quarter sessions, as kept by said Pemberton, acting as *clerk* from the year 1684 to 1693, inclusive.* They are comprised in nearly three quires of cap paper, and are written in a kind of court hand, which is difficult to read. I notice that the actions are mostly managed without attorneys. None appear till

* This Phineas Pemberton came from Bolton, in England. In 1701, he was settled at Philadelphia as a member of council—he died in 1702. He was grandfather of James Pemberton, a distinguished public Friend, who died in 1809, aged eighty-six years.

1690, when Patrick Robinson, once the clerk of the provincial council, in Philadelphia, appeared to manage a cause of value against Hugh Marsh, another attorney.

These minutes comprise appointments for laying out new roads, choice of constables, and acknowledgments of land conveyances. The crimes are for selling liquors to the Indians; £5 fine. Swearing is fined. One case of suspected murder. Sale of a black slave from Virginia for fourteen years for petit larceny. A case of Charles Thomas, an apprentice, convicted by *confession* of being the father of an illegitimate child. The punishment was—twenty lashes to himself—ten lashes to the girl, and then to be obliged to be married. Some of our genteel moderns, who pay carelessly three hundred dollars, would deem this quite an outrage on their persons, and "sacred honours."

I have seen also with the same owner, the original MS. book of Phineas Pemberton, while acting as register (the first) for Bucks county. It is a quarto cap, of two quires thickness. The characters of the writing are antique and difficult to read, and the cover is of Indian-tanned buckskin. It contains the first wills and letters of administration of the year 1683, and subsequent—the first ever made in the country. It contains also, the records of marriages, and the parties present. A full list of all the first population, giving the names of each family; where born in Europe; by what vessel, and where arrived; the names of all their children; when born, and where died. Also the names of all their servants, and the terms of their service. They generally are to serve four years for their passage, and to receive at the end thereof fifty acres of land, and a cow, &c. Some of those nominal *servants* made in time some of the first people in the country! A more competent *census* of primitive society, is not be found of any people. To the people of that county,

as showing the origin and state of their forefathers, it must be a curious relic.

In my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from pages 544 to 575, are contained several letters from my friend Samuel Preston, Esq. descriptive of his reminiscences of the early men of note in Bucks county, and of the settlement of Buckingham and Solesbury, &c. The great Indian Walk of 1722. The Indians, &c. They are too long to be used in my present annals, but may be consulted for any future needful historical purpose. In meantime several similar facts are already told in *print*, in the printed memoirs of the Historical Society, volume I., article four, Dr. Henry Watson, of Bucks county. But those who want to find Edward Marshall's *silver mine*, from which he made the real silver dollars, by which he lived easily, from being before a poor hunter, must see these manuscripts! He was prosecuted for counterfeiting, but had to be acquitted. They were too good.

PENNSBURY.

It has been matter of surprise to some, why Penn so soon provided for *a country residence*, even when *society* for mutual benefit was so necessary at the early rise of Philadelphia. A cause may perhaps be found in his predilections for a *country life*, as expressed in his admirable letter of *Family Counsel*, to wit: "Let my children (he said) be husbandmen and house-wives. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. Of cities and towns of concourse *beware*. The world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and get wealth there. *A country life and estate I like best for my children.*"

A letter of William Penn's says, the place cost him £700, and he intended to settle permanently there—saying, "I should have returned to it in '86, or '89 at furthest."

In 1705, he says, "whether I surrender to the crown, or not, shall make no difference as to my coming and inhabiting there"—he says he bought there of an old Indian king. Of course it was a royalty once! It was called Sapassin.

The original tract of Pennsbury contained, in 1684, about 8431 acres, from which were abstracted at various times afterwards about 1888 acres granted to others, and 400 acres besides to Arthur Cook, a public friend of Philadelphia.

At this place William Penn had a mansion, sometimes called his "*palace*," some of the finer materials of which were made in England. There he made the country residence of his family, when here in 1700–1, seeing there much company in his public capacity. The mansion and outhouses were neglected afterwards in his absence. A water reservoir on the top of the mansion got to leaking, and otherwise it fell into premature decay, so that it was determined, at last, to pull it down and erect a better in its place. This house was taken down just before the war of Independence. The length of that war, and the final exclusion of that family from its former government, prevented any rebuilding. After the peace, the whole estate was sold out of the Penn family, and all that now remains on the premises to mark the former location is the present frame dwelling-house of Richard Crozier, the same which had been Penn's brew-house.

Having had, in my possession, the book of MS. letters from William Penn to James Harrison, his chief steward—*i. e.* his general agent of the years 1681 to 1687,—[vide the letters in form in my MS. Annals, pages 164 to 171, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.] I have here selected such extracts, as will serve to show the character of the

houses, &c. once made or intended, as the residence of the proprietary and his future generations, to wit:

In August, 1684, he says, he sends Ralph, his gardener, some walnut-trees to set, and some seeds of his own raising which are rare good. He urges Ralph to stick to his garden, and to get the yards fenced in, and doors to them. By an Irish ship, he says, he sends butter, cheese, shoes, &c.—some beer at £10 a ton, and some wine.

On the 18th of 11th month, 1684-5, he says, "I have sent herewith four servants, three carpenters, and a gardener; he had three more, but they failed him. I would (says he) have a kitchen, two larders, a wash-house, a room to iron in, a brew-house, and a Milan oven for baking, a stable for twelve horses; all my rooms I would have nine feet high, and my stables eleven feet, and overhead half a story. What you *can*, do with *bricks*. What you can't, do it with good timbers, and case them with clap boards, about five feet, which will serve other things, and we can brick it afterwards." [Probably this was never done so afterwards, and furnished a cause of premature decay.]

"Pray, let the court-yard be levelled, and the fields and places about house be cleanly and orderly kept: so let me see thy conduct and contrivance about grounds and farm accommodations. I hope *the barge* is kept safely. Let Ralph take the lower grounds of the garden, and the other, his helper, the upper grounds and courts—have too a convenient well, or pump, for the several offices.

"I desire that a pair of handsome plain steps be made at the landing right against the house, also the bridge more passable going to John Rowland's, unless one over the creek near the New England people may be better done.

"I would have a walk to the falls [meaning in the direction to them] and to the point where S. H.'s son built, cleared

so as two may walk a foot. It would be pleasant, if the old *Indian paths* were cleared up.

"Pray, secure the refusal of the New England people's farms—I have some in my eye that will buy them.

"Let there be a two-leaved door back, and have a new one in one for the front, as the present is most ugly and low. I would have a rail and banisters before both fronts. The pales will serve *round*, though they are sad ones.

The 19th of 3d month, 1685, he writes and says, "I like all thou hast sent me. I hope they go on with the *houses* and *gardens*, and let them *finish* that which is built as fast as they can. The partition between the left parlour and the great room the servants used to eat in should be wainscotted up. The doors had best be large between the other parlour and the withdrawing room.

"If the cattle of Col. Lloyd's are not brought home from Maryland, dissolve the bargain, because I will supply beef from Ireland. The last I sent went by way of Barbadoes.

"Let Ralph this fall get twenty young poplars of about 18 inches round, beheaded to 20 feet, to plant in the walk below the steps to the water.

"I mentioned the kinds of outhouses *wanted*, but I know how to shift. I am a man of Providence tost to and fro."

The 11th of 5th month, 1685, he writes and says, "tell Ralph I must depend on his perfecting his gardens—hay dust [is not this seed?] from Long Island, such as *I* sowed in *my* court-yard, is the best for our fields. I will send divers seeds for gardens and fields. About the house may be laid out into fields and grass, which is sweet and pleasant. I trust to provide myself at my coming with carpenters, husbandmen, and brick-layers and makers. I hope care is had of my three mares and their colts. I intend more when I come, and a fine horse. A good dairy my wife will love."

The 4th of 8th month, 1685, he says, "I hear poor Ralph is dead. Let Nicholas then follow it (the garden) diligently, and I will reward him. Do not much *hiring* of carpenters and joiners. That I sent will do. Assure my servants, if they prove faithful and diligent, I will be kind to them in land and other things at my return. By this ship, I purpose to send some haws, hazle-nuts, walnuts, garden seeds, &c.

In another letter he says, "I have now sent a gardener [in place of Ralph deceased] with requisites. Let him have help of two or three men when needful. He is to have his passage paid and £30, and 60 acres of land at 3 years, and a month in each year to himself. He to train me a man and a boy. There comes also a Dutchman, a joiner and a carpenter, that is to work 150 days, and pay me 5 or £7 country money, for £7 sterling lent him. Let him wainscot and make tables and stands: but chiefly help on the outhouses, because we shall *bring much furniture*."

"I would have Nicholas (the gardener) have as many roots and flowers next spring by transplanting them *out of the woods*, as he can."

7th of 9th month, 1685, he writes and says, "I am glad the Indian fields bore so well. Lay as much down as you can with hay dust, and clear away the wood up the river to open a prospect upwards as well as downwards. Get some wooden chairs of walnut with long backs, and two or three eating-tables for 12, 8, and 5 persons with falling leaves to them."

17th of 9th month, 1685, he says, "P. Ford has sent James Reed more trees, seeds, and sciences (scions), which James my gardener *here* bought. Tell James I would have him lay in a good stock before he parts with any thing I send him. I would send free stones for the steps, if he had the dimensions. What you build is best done with bricks. The man I sent can make them. A better kitchen would do well

with milk-house, stable, &c. but all by degrees. There is gravel *for walks* that is *red* at Philadelphia, near the swamp. In what you build, let there be low lodgings over head of eight feet. Let all be *uniform*, and not *a scu*, from the house. Get and plant as much quick as you can about fields, and lay them out large, at least 12 acres in each."

In 1686, he writes, "I send a wheelwright, who can also work as a carpenter. I should be glad to see a draft of Pennsbury, [and so might we!] which an artist would quickly make, with the landscape of the house, outhouses, their proportions and distance from each other. Tell me how the peach and apple orchards bear. Of what are the outhouses built, and how they stand to the house. Pray don't let the fronts of the house be common. I leave thee whether to go on with my sons' land above Welcome Creek or no."

Such is the early history of the munificent expenditures and intentions of Penn.

A letter of Wm. Penn's to James Logan of the 23d of 5th mo. 1700, *then at Pennsbury*, says, that because of an injury done his leg, he is unable to meet the council, &c. and therefore desires that four of the council, the collector and minister, and witnesses, to come up to him *by his barge*, which he will send to Burlington. He adds too, "let the Indians come hither and send in the boat more rum, and the match coats, and let the council adjourn *to this place*. Here will be victuals." At this time he speaks also of his coach or "calash" and horses then in Philadelphia, and of his man John (a black man) to drive it.

The above letter seems to indicate an assemblage, or gathering for a treaty. It would seem there must have been a plurality of such Indian assemblages, for in 1701 John Richardson, in his journal, tells of his being there when many Indians and chiefs were then *to revive* their covenants

with Wm. Penn before his return home. There they received presents, held their cantico or worship by dancing around a fire prepared on the ground.

In 1703-4, when young William Penn came to this country, there assembled as many as one hundred Indians and nine kings at Pennsbury, to greet his arrival there.

After Penn had gone back to England, the Pennsbury place was retained some time in hopes of his return, but as they found this less and less probable, it was rented in 1707 merely to keep it in occupancy, to Col. Quarry of the customs for £40 a year for house and gardens only, on condition he should keep it in repair, and be ready to render it back when required. But almost as soon as he agreed he relinquished, it from hearing of Penn's embarrassments by "the claim of the Fords." In 1708 Wm. Penn writes, saying, "let Wm. Watson that comes from Bristol, keep all in order till we come."

Penn's furniture remained long at Pennsbury after his death. And at all times there was preserved a set room for the use of any of the Proprietaries when they should visit them. Charles Thomson talked of seeing Penn's bed when he was there. Mrs. D. Logan saw there his quilt of white holland quilted with green silk in figures by Letitia. A gentleman of Bucks County told me it was understood that for years it was deemed a kind of pious stealth to bear off some of the articles—one of them had the mantle piece, much prized, and another had his plush breeches; his clock and secretary desk are still known.

Pennsbury in former times used to be much visited by persons from Burlington. With them the idea was very prevalent that the mansion had a "fish pond," on the top of it. The story doubtless arose from its having had originally a leade nreservoir there to retain water as a security

against fire. As early as the year 1700 I saw that Wm. Penn spoke of the house as leaking, saying, " it suffers in great rains; send Lessel up to mend the leads *if he dare undertake it*, speedily"—and when in England in 1701, he says to James Logan, " mind that the leads are mended."

In the year 1826 I made a short visit to Pennsbury to see the remains of what had been Penn's palace. I shall here set down some of my notes then made.

> " These to the feeling heart are hallowed haunts,
> Though but in ruins seen and faintly traced."

Our approach to the place, through the manor, presented a general level and rich soil; and from the river side the aspect of the country was low and tame, such as would never attract the notice of passengers passing in the daily steam-boats. " The Welcome Creek," was no longer known as such, but we found it half a mile south of the mansion, dammed across, and sluiced at its mouth—near there we ascertained that the land of Robert Crozier was so productive as to produce twenty-three bushels of wheat to the acre, and four hundred and thirty-six bushels of rye from eleven bushels seed on fifteen acres. Welcome Creek once five feet deep—now shallow, originally went round Pennsbury farm so as to have made it into an island in high tides—over these Penn once had *bridges* " going to Mr. Rowland's," and the other " towards the New England people's."

The original front of the mansion—standing back seventy yards from the shore, was sixty feet long and its depth forty feet; the line of the *good* old wall is still to be traced by digging a little under the present grassy surface. Only a part of it had a cellar, some of it still laying open. The

garden, a sloping one, lay in front of the house, and the offices were in a front line with the mansion, having a lane still there of forty feet wide, which separated them from the house. The brew-house and malt-house under the same roof, equal to fifty feet by thirty-five feet, were the nearest to the lane. The well still used, was in the middle of the said lane. The only remaining building is the frame *brew-house*, the malt-house in its rear being pulled down, and that house was repaired as a temporary dwelling at the time they pulled down the mansion. The foundation of the offices, now a garden plot, covered an area of about one hundred feet along the front of the river, north of the mansion, and extended back about sixty feet westward. These facts in general, I learned from Robert Crozier, who who born on the premises. Along the lane is a long row of ancient cherry trees; English red-hearts. Along the lawn fronting the original mansion, near the river, are the stumps of a triple row of great walnut trees. The mother of Robert Crozier, an aged woman, had many traditions to relate. The back part of the mansion had a long piazza in the rear; one room was called the spirit room, because it was always kept locked as the proprietaries' bed room, &c. and from its being so perpetually closed, it was deemed to have been haunted. It was hung with tapestry, which all decayed by neglect or want of air. This was also confirmed to me by the present Joseph Hopkinson, Esq. who remembered to have so seen it when he was a boy. Like those who had preceded me, I brought away a relic—a piece of the carved capital of the pilaster once at the front door.

SPEECH

OF

WILLIAM PENN,

ADDRESSED TO

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

APRIL 1st, 1700.

Read at a Meeting of the Society, Feb. 20, 1828.

A SPEECH OF WILLIAM PENN.

COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL,

IN THE WRITING OF PATRICK ROBINSON,

BY J. F. F.

Att a provincial council held att Philadelphia, die Lunæ y^e^ 1st of y^e^ 2d mo., April 1700.

Present Wm. Penn, Proprietor and Governor.

[The Sheriff's returns of the elections of representatives in council for the counties of Bucks, Philadelphia, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex were presented and read, and the declaration of allegiance was subscribed, when the said members of council being declared duly qualified.] The Proprietor and Governor said :

" Friends,

Altho' this be a Colonie of 19 years standing, and not inferior to any of its age and establishing, yet wee have much to do to make a free Constitution, and y^e^ Courts of Justice therein. There are in it some laws which may be accounted obsolete, others hurtfull, others imperfect, that will need improvement; and it will be requisit to make some new ones. Wee cannot go too slowly to make them, nor too fast to execute them when made, and that with diligence and discretion. A few well made and duly executed, will better answer the ends of government than a great bulk unexecuted. You, Friends, are the people's

choice and my Council: You will see what laws are fitt to be left out, and what are fitt to be made, and you with me are to prepare and propose them. I say this the rather, because of a false notion some have got, that because you are my Council, therefore, you are not the people's representatives. The ablest men have always been chosen to be of the Council to prepare Laws, and the assembly are to consent to them. Tho' two bodies, yet are we but one power: the one prepares, the other consents.

Friends—If in the Constitution by Charter there be any thing that jarrs—alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it; I advise you not to trifle with Government; I wish there were no need of any, but since crimes prevail, government is made necessary by man's degeneracie. Government is not an end but a means; he who thinks it to be an end, aims at profit—to make a trade of it—but he who thinks it to be a means, understands the true end of Government.

Friends—Away with all parties, and look on yourselves, and on what is good for all, as a bodie politick; first as under the King and Crown of England, and next as under mee by Letters patent from that Crown.

At the late Election in Philadelphia, I was grieved to hear some make it a matter of religion. It is merely a humane and moral thing relating to society, trade, traffique, and publick good, consisting in virtue and justice; where these are maintained, there is government indeed. Studie peace and be at unity. Provide for the good of all; and I desire to see mine no otherwise than in the publick's prosperity.

The last Assembly made two laws against piracy and forbidden trade. I heare they have not satt easie on the books of some, but I hope wee having therein been carefull,

wee shall have thanks for makeing them befor wee had orders so to do; and after so many calumnies and complaints wee have been loaded with, I hope those two laws will in some degree wash us clean. What concerns myself I also leave it with you to consider. I have been now nineteen years your Proprietor and Governor, and have att my charge maintained my Deputy, whereby I have much worsted myself and estate. I hope it will be no wonder to any here, to hear mee make this mention of it.

Some say I come to gett money and be gone, but perhaps they that say so wish it so; I hope I or mine shall be with you while I or they live. The disasters of my absence have been mine as well as yours; and as I am used shall make suitable returns.

I have lately two packetts from Whitehall, an original and a duplicate; also one for my cosin Markham, and two from Secretarie Vernon: and am commanded by the Lords Justices to make laws against piracie and unlawful trade. I am glad we have prevented their commands in doing it before they came."

Thereafter, a motion being made by a member of Council that we should begin on a good foundation, and, therefore, desired that they might have a new charter. The Proprietor and Governor desired each member to speak his mind freely, which each member present did. Then the Proprietor and Governor asked "whether they thought the Charter was living, dead, or asleep? Is it vacated by the act of settlement, or in what estate is it?"

A member made answer. It is clear we never looked on it to be void or dead; because at Governor Fletcher's coming, we made a salvo of it in our Assembly books, and another salvo of it in the frame of Government as to its fundamentals, but the circumstantials of it, as to time, place, number, and rotation, we could not re-assume.

Our business now is to do good, the Governor being here to confirm it: and the Governor having in the charter power to call us in what manner he pleases is but circumstance: the meeting is essential. Let us take what is fitt and good both in the Charter and frame of Government, and let us make a Constitution that may be firm and lasting to us and ours. This makes no breach in the old laws, but will confirm what is re-assumable in them, the Charter and the Frame of Government.

Then the Governor said—" The Act of Settlement served till I came, now I am come it cannot bind me against my own act, the Charter, it being my grant, and the people my witnesses by accepting of it; and tho' some violence cannot be resisted, yet when the violence is taken off, the charter revives."

Thereafter the Governor and Proprietor " resolved the whole Council into a Grand Committee, to meet at the third hour in the afternoon, to read the Charter and Frame of Government, and to adopt what is good in either, to lay aside what is inconvenient and burdensome, and to add to both what may best suit the common good of all: And if you be under any doubt or scruple, I will endeavour to solve it. And present to me what you doe therein by to-morrow morning for my perusal."

COLONEL ROBERT QUARRY'S INFORMATION

AGAINST THE

GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN

Two Memorials

PRESENTED TO

THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR TRADE AND FOREIGN PLANTATIONS.

WITH

WILLIAM PENN'S ANSWER THERETO.

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. D. LOGAN OF STENTON.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, March 17, 1830.

COPY

OF

COL. QUARRY'S INFORMATION

AGAINST THE

GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Abstract of several Informations relating to irregular Proceedings and other undue Practices in Pennsylvania.

1. That an illegal trade is carried on there, more than ever—sloops are purposely employed to go out of the Capes, and take on board goods brought by other vessels from Curasoa, which they land at Philadelphia, or elsewhere. And then the vessels that brought them come up to Philadelphia in ballast, as if they had brought nothing.

2. The acts past in Pennsylvania to prevent illegal trade, are not put in execution, as neither the acts of trade made here.

3. Mr. Penn, having appointed water bailiffs by his own authority, has invaded thereby the jurisdiction of the Admiralty as established by the King.

4. There is neither any militia established, nor any provision made of arms or ammunition: but the country is left defenceless, and exposed to all hazards both by land and sea. Of which the representatives from the lower counties have several times complained to Mr. Penn, but without any effect.

5. Mr. Penn endeavours, all he can, to invite foreign and French Indians, known to be villainous, and that lately came from Canada to settle in this country for the benefit of a trade with them; which he takes care wholly to engross to himself, by ordering the Indians not to permit any to trade with them, but such as produce an indented license under his seal. What his profit may be thereby is not known: but it is apprehended this practice may tend to endanger the lives of many thousands of Her Majesty's subjects.

6. Mr. Penn prevailed on the assembly, at one sitting, to make a present to him of 2000 pounds, and further to settle upon him 1000 per ann. and upwards, in taxes. The expenses of their several sittings whilst he was there amounted to above 600 pounds. But he has not disposed them to raise the small quota of 350 pounds which was signified to be requisite towards the defence of New York; they excusing themselves chiefly upon account of the want of a settled militia, arms and ammunition for their own defence: which has indisposed them to any compliance with the quota of men for New York in case of an attack; though it be a condition upon which the government was restored to him.

7. The representatives of the three lower counties, in an address to Mr. Penn, have further represented, "That instead of reaping the security designed by the laws passed at New Castle, they find that the most essential of those laws, and which nearest concern them, and their estates, have not been sent home for His Majesty's approbation, especially those for qualification of magistrates and juries, and those for establishing property, and raising money.

8. Those representatives being doubtful of Mr. Penn's right to the government of those counties, they desired a sight of his deeds of feoffment. But instead thereof they were threatened with a gaol, without bail, till either the King's

pleasure should be known, or Mr. Penn's return to this country. And by these proceedings being made more doubtful of the validity of the laws passed at New Castle, they refused to confirm the same.

9. In relation to the administration of justice, information has been given of three particular cases of very heinous crimes. One of which was a woman committed for murder of her natural child, and confessing the fact, was either acquitted or pardoned; and the others who were men, one, the son of an eminent Quaker, by several shuffling and irregular practices, got off without tryal.

10. Further information has been given, of a jury who, not agreeing upon a verdict, in a cause with which they were charged, determined themselves by hustle cap.

11. Appeals have not been granted from sentences in courts in Pennsylvania to His Majesty in council here; particularly in the case of Thomas Byfield against John King.

12. The deputy governour, left by Mr. Penn, is not qualified by his majestie's approbation, or otherwise as requisite by law. Nor has Mr. Penn ever given security for any deputy governour, as described by the address of the house of lords of 18th of March, 1696.

WILLIAM PENN'S ANSWER

TO

COL. QUARRY'S INFORMATION

AGAINST THE

GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Answers to the Abstract of Complaints against Proceedings in Pennsilvania.

1. This is more than I know. And wonder (if it be true) that Col. Quarry (who, I perceive, presents these informations to this honourable board) never told me so before. For I never heard of but one vessel that played us such a trick. And I wish that Col. Quarry and his officers had been more vigorous to prevent it. But for the vindication of our merchants, and of that colony, I must desire Col. Quarry to prove the charge, and that due course may be taken to punish the faulty, and prevent such things for the future.

2. I pray proof of this also: for he never complained to me, that I can remember, of such neglect. But this I know, that he told me that he thought I was too hard upon the tobacco planters in making that law, for by that law the hogsheads of tobacco were to be weighed at their shipping,

because they used to pass formerly at 400 weight by content, though perhaps they, or the merchants, crowded in 7, 8, or 900 weights into a hogshead. By which the king lost at 10*s.* per cwt. not less than 30, 40, or 50 shillings per hhd. which in a thousand hhds. come to 1500 or 2000 pounds.

2. Col. Quarry, in his letter to this board, laid the charge, as if I had granted that commission to all the sheriffs. But of six sheriffs for the six counties, two only had them. They were granted of necessity, to suppress great disorders upon the water and in his absence, and never disputed by his deputy. And when objected against by himself at his return (after six months' absence, upon his traffic into other colonies) I did immediately command the sheriffs to forbear acting by them until further orders. One of them never had, and the other but twice and on slight occasions. However it was drawn by one that Lord Bellamont had made a councillor at New York and naval officer thereof, well acquainted in such matters. And I offered to join with him to represent it home to this and the admiralty board, to give us our true boundaries, as the king's council in both laws should advise. Which he once promised, and best knows why he did not perform it.

4th. There is as much as was in Colonel Fletcher's time. And the same governor I continued in command by the Queen's direction; all commissions being, by proclamation, to remain in force till revoked, and they never were; but it is a mistake that I had my government restored to me upon those terms—let the royal instrument be consulted. Nor was my right ever dissolved; or the interruption given me to be by law vindicated. And for the country's being left defenceless: 'tis an imposition upon the lords to tell them that a militia can secure it—since by land there is none to annoy it; and by sea, the position of the country, and the

manner of our settlement considered, (our distance from the Capes being 160 miles, New Castle 120,) and the shoals and narrows so many, that a small vessel of war would, under God's providence, be the best security.

5th. I never, to my knowledge, invited or entertained one French Indian in my life; but discouraged Frenchmen, employed by Col. Quarry or his customers, from trading with our Indians, (the cause of that restraint,) that they might not debauch them from the English friendship and interest. All which is notorious in those parts, where the truth can only be examined and found out. My profit by the Indians was never sixpence; but my known perpetual bounties to them, have cost me many hundreds of pounds, if not some thousands, first and last; but this shows a necessity of a "melius inquirendum" upon the place.

6th. I acknowledge y_e 2000 that money, (which makes not the 1200 English) but his 1000 is not above 700 that money, nor 500 this and near expired. But is that such a recompense, when five times the sum is less than my due? having not had for twenty years one farthing, but maintained the deputy governor at my own charge? And yet more than half of what they gave me is yet unpaid; and if Col. Quarry and his factious adherents can obstruct it, will never be paid me. Whereas, had the law of imposts, given me in 1683, been received by me, it had been 20,000 pounds and more money in my way; and which was only by me waived for a few years, in our infancy, upon promises never performed to me. But for the 350 pounds y^e King writt to me about; I did not only endeavour to raise it by calling an assembly, (and which helps up the charge of the 600 he talks of) but writt to the governor of New York, that if I paid the 350 myself, he should not want such a sum for the King's service. Whose answer was, that he neither wanted men nor money, but

Col. Kremer, the engineer that the New Englanders kept from him: nor was it at the same session of assembly, that gave me that supply, but more than a year after. Therefore it cannot be justly concluded, that I preferred my own wants to the King's service. And it was poverty more than defence, that was the excuse of the lower counties for not contributing to it, where a ship only, as before, is their best security; the town of Philadelphia, or at least the county, being in reallity worth more than all the inhabitants of the lower counties, who yet have equal privileges with the whole province, on whose account he makes this reflection upon us. However they are not singular, Virginia and Maryland, old and opulent, as well as King's colonies, having declined their quotas.

7th. It was then declared to them and consented to, that the imperfection of some laws in matter and wording, would require a review another session. And none were kept back, but those that were made towards the end of the session, when the early frost setting in so hard, that the sickliness of the place made the members impatient of further stay. Nor am I (as I presume) obliged by my patent, to send them in so short a time: however I expect them daily.

8th. They had the sight of the deed of feofment; and were also told by me, it was upon record at New York. And for threatening them with a gaol, it is a most abusive perversion, for what was said, was to a member, but *of* one that was *not* a member, that was supposed to have sown such reflections about the town by himself or agents: and upon that I said, "tell me his name, and prove it upon him, and I will take care to lay him where I shall prevent his seditious practices, untill the king's commands are known, or the law release him." This is the truth of the case, and I am still of the same mind, for the preservation of the common peace;

nor did I know how to preserve it otherwise: and I thank God, it continues still, and hope will, until the queen's pleasure shall be known: while our neighbours at New York are in such confusion and extremity; though not only a king's colony, but one of the most importance.

9th. For this foul charge I might refer the board to the records of the county. However, I will say thus much; nobody complained to me of it, nor appealed about the first of them: but I have heard that the single witness against the prisoner ran away, and was a fellow of no credit into the bargain, upon which, after a long imprisonment, the man was discharged in open court of quarter sessions.

For the woman (prisoner), she is neither pardoned nor acquitted; but the whole case lies with Secretary Vernon, to whom I sent it for the king's mind, who only could pardon her: and for want of a sufficient prison, is still in custody (if living) of y^e^ sheriff, who waits for directions therein. Which representation was at the instance and address of the Swedish minister and congregation, that pleaded, 1st. That it was her own discovery. 2dly. That it was five years after the fact. 3dly. Her extream sorrow and repentance, of which the discovery was an instance.

As to the other charge. The parties married, and in the opinion of the two only lawyers of y^e^ place, (and one of them the king's advocate, of the admiralty, and the attorney general of the country,) her evidence was thereby enervated. But because the marriage was not so regular as the law required, I ordered the prosecution of it with the utmost rigour; as the minutes of council will show.

For the reflection upon our profession in styling the father, "an eminent Quaker." First, the father was but a late comer, and little known. And secondly, far from eminent there or here, but of all held a quiet, honest man, who had been his

son's security, y^e^ time [*several words obliterated*] nor was it at last admitted without good authorities in law.

10th. That was true; and they punished for it; or I had severely prosecuted them. But this was done some time before my arrival.

11th. This I must positively disown; for I never did deny one; nor was ever appealed or complained to. If any Court in my Government presumed to do so, I hope I know better things in justice and prudence, than to countenance or endure it.

12th. It was no fault of mine; since I could not stay to receive it. But his name was sent over by me to my son, for that service, above a year before I thought of my hasty return; but it was, it seems, omitted to be presented, because of the doubtful issue of the bill then in Parliament against us. However, I have the opinion of Chief-Justice Attwood at New York; that being a Governor in my own right, till the Sovereign could be apprised of it, the appointment I made was good. And Col. Quarry cannot but know, that necessity is ever a commission; and that I was under an absolute one, both to come, and to choose him; seeing there was not another person in either Province (not a Quaker) capable of it; unless my last Lieutenant Governor, that I had displaced upon the King's commands in 1699. And I hope, whatever be Col. Quarry's point, the Lords will judge of my proceedings, according to the nature of public exigencies.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PENN.

A COPY OF A SECOND COMPLAINT.

To the right honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Foreign Plantations.

A memorial most humbly presented by Col. Robert Quarry, Humbly presenteth:

That by several letters received from Pennsilvania I have the following account.

1st. That Anthony Morris, who as a magistrate did give a warrant for the taking by force out of her Majesty's stores, a parcel of prohibited goods, which were under seizure; of which unlawful act, an account being sent home, the Governor, Mr. Penn, was ordered to turn the said Anthony Morris out of all offices, and prosecute him for the crime.

That in obedience to his late majestie's commands, and the orders of this honourable board, Mr. Penn did turn out the said Morris to answer his turn for the present occasion; but has now restored him again, and made him one of his chief magistrates.

2d. That Mr. Penn hath, in a late charter granted to the people of the city of Philadelphia, given to the sheriffs almost all the power of the Admiralty, even to the capes of the Bay, under pretence of water bailiffs.

3d. That several vessels being lately seized for breach of the several acts of parliament; the government have, in open contempt of the admiralty power, brought the information against the said vessels into their courts of common law.

4th. That Mr. Penn has commissioned his kinsman, one Parmyter, to be the Attorney General, who is convicted of felony, perjury and forgery, as may appear to your Lordships from the records of the city of Bristol.

5th. That about three years since there was a dedimus,

under the great seal of England, sent to Pennsilvania, empowering Edmund Randolph, John Moore, Jasper Yeates, John Hollwel, Edward Chilton, Esqrs. and myself, or any one of us, to administer the oaths to all such persons, which from time to time should take upon themselves the Government of Pennsilvania: and in case of our death or absence, then the members of the council, together with the principal officers of the customs, had power to administer the oaths according to law. That the said dedimus was carried to the Secretary to have it recorded in his office, and is forcibly detained by the Governor of Pennsilvania from the said commissioners, on purpose to prevent them from executing the powers of the said commission. And thereby persons have assumed the government without being qualified as the law directs.

I do humbly propose, that your Lordships will please to order that the dedimus may be delivered to the commissioners, unto whom it is directed, that so they may be enabled to obey his majesty's commands, and answer the ends of the law.

6th. That information hath been given to Col. Hamilton, how that the French are settling themselves on the back of Pennsilvania, about four daies' journey from New Castle. That one Lewis Lemoizen, a Frenchman, who has lived many years in Pennsilvania, and traded with the Indians, is run away to them with two Canada Indians, that were sent as spies to view the nakedness of that country: by which means the French will have the full knowledge of that country and its defenceless condition, which makes the inhabitants dread the consequence.

All which is humbly offered to your lordships' consideration,

By your lordships' most obedient servant,

Robert Quarry.

AN ANSWER

To Col. Quarry's Second Memorial presented to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

To the three first paragraphs relating to Anthony Morris. If I may say so mean a thing of myself, I had long ago Col. Quarry's licence to re-employ that man, after a thorough examination of him about the old business of the replevin, in council, Col. Quarry present. It appearing evidently to his satisfaction, that he was not only surprised by the lawyer who brought it to him to sign, but threatened into it that if he did not do it he denied justice to one of the king's subjects. Upon which, as well as a private discourse between Col. Quarry and the said Morris, he declared, "If what he had writ of him were to do again, he would not do it; for that he believed he was imposed upon." Besides this, we have next to no choice in those parts, and he had been one of the most sufficient as well as diligent magistrate there.

To the 4th paragraph. I have heard but of one vessel since my leaving the province, against which an information was brought to the courts of common pleas, and I am sure there was none during the time I was there. The officers' letter that exhibited the information is the best answer that I can give: besides the notorious obscurity, if not apparent contradiction of the law of the 7th and 8th of the late king so often complain'd of, in my hearing at your own board, as well as at the admiralty and elsewhere, upon which this

dispute arises. And it were happy there were plainer directions to officers in their duty.

To the 5th paragraph. I desire that Col. Quarry may produce his proofs and authority for the charge therein contained. But if I had commissioned that gentleman my Attorney General, after having been preferred by a King's Governor of Lord Bellamont's quality and character, both to be one of the king's council, and his naval officer of so eminent a colony as that of New York, I cannot see the offence. And if men as guilty as he is said to have been, must, after repentance as well as pardon, never have been employed, some colonies would have wanted many a good officer and magistrate; to say no more.

To the 6th and and 7th paragraph I am wholly a stranger, having never been asked for such an instrument, nor heard it was ever refused by any officer in the government. This must have been before my arrival, or since my return from the province. And what is fit for me to do in the matter shall be complied with.

To the 8th and last paragraph. I know not what information has been given to Col. Hamilton; but dare say for him, he neither wants sense, vigilance, courage or loyalty, to do what becomes him in such a conjuncture. But as there have been many false alarms, his silence to me makes me believe this to be another. And as to Lewis Lemoizin, if he be run away, it is to some of the five nations under New York government from whence he had his wife; and that from the uneasiness I gave him in his traffic with our Indians under my government, lest he should negotiate any thing to the disadvantage of the English interest. But both this man and one Peter Barzallion, I have been told, were the great factors for the company in the Indian trade, of which Col. Quarry is the chief agent—and for his spys and

defenceless condition of the province; it is a story, I would hope, could not possibly pass upon your understandings. The French are not now to know the condition of the back parts of all the English colonies upon the continent, and therefore his spy is, with me, but a vain conjecture. Neither are we more defenceless than Maryland or Virginia; nor indeed is it possible to defend scattered settlements against surprises, if the French should come so far as to make them; which is next to impracticable. Nor can they reach us, without passing through the aforesaid five nations of warlike Indians and several of our English colonies. But the danger to them has never been from French, but from their own Indians, nor from them but upon repeated injuries and provocations given them, which I thank God our folks have escaped these twenty years, as defenceless a people as we are rendered, because we have not only been just, but very kind to them, as I am ready to make appear from their own testimonials. And if any danger is like to attend us (as they that hide can find so) let me wish that Col. Quarry and his few factious adherents may never be the cause of verifying the suggestions from his known inveteracy to us. I could say more upon this head. And if what he has alleged can have weight enough with this honourable board to find credit against us, I must, in the name of the inhabitants of that province, beseech the lords to represent to the Queen the necessity of a free and impartial inquiry upon the spot, into the truth of his information. For after charges so black and enormous, there is no avoiding the nicest scrutiny.

I humbly add, that for the safety as well as peace of the province, I have deputed a gentleman of known good qualities to answer that end, if the Queen shall please to add her necessary qualification.

MINUTES OF A CONFERENCE

HELD BY

WILLIAM MARKHAM, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

WITH

Several Delaware and Susquehanna Indians,

JULY 6, 1694.

Extracted from the Minutes of the Council in the writing of Patrick Robinson.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, APRIL 21, 1830.

MINUTES, &c.

Att a Councill held att Philadelphia, the sixth of July, Annoque Dom. 1694 :—

Present, Coll. Wm. Markham, Esqr., Lieut. Governor;
Andr. Robeson, Lacey Cock, Esqr.;
Robert Turner, Esqrs; Pat. Robinson, Sec'y.

The Lieut. Gov'r acquainted the Councill that the reason of his calling them together was, that yesterday Lacey Cock, Esqr. informed him that the Delaware Indians were come down to discourse with them.

Hithquoquean, Kyanharro, Shak****, Oriter, Menanzes, Mohocksey, Tamanee, ******, with severall others of the Delaware Indians, were admitted.

Hithquoquean, in name of the rest of the Delaware Indians, took out and laid down a belt of wampum, which he said was sent to them by the Onondages and Senekas; who say, "You Delawar Indians do nothing but stay at home and boil your potts, and are like women; while we Onondages and Senekas goe abroad and fight against the enemie. The Senekas wold have us Delawar Indians to be partners with them to fight against the French, but wee having alwayes been a peaceable people, and resolving to live so; and being but weak, and verie few in number, cannot assist them; and having resolved among ourselves not to goe, doe intend to send back this their belt of wampum: we, therefore, desire to know how the Gov'r of New

York and Pennsilvania stands affected, and is inclined towards us, and give a belt of wampum."

Mohocksey said, "The former belt sent by the Onondages and Senekas is sent to us all, and wee have acquainted one another with it; and though wee live on the other side of the river, yet wee reckon ourselves all one, because wee drink one water. We have had a continued friendship with all the Christians and old inhabitants of this river since I was a young man, and am desirous to continue the same so long as wee live—and give a belt of wampum."

Tamanee said, "We and the Christians of this river have alwayes had a free road to one another; and though sometimes a tree has fallen across the road, yet wee have still removed it again and kept the path clean; and wee design to continue the old friendship that has been between us and you—and doe give a belt of wampum."

The Lieut. Gov'r said, that by 3 of the Clocke in the afternoon, he wold consider and give them an answer.

3 A Clock afternoon—præsentibus iisdem except Andrew Robeson.

Lacey Cock, Esq'r, acquainted the Lieut. Gov'r. that Kyanharro and Oriter, two Susquehanna Indians present, had something to say; and, in respect they could not be understood, desired Menanzes to speak for them.

Menanzes sayes, that a certain Indian king, being Kyanharro's old acquaintance, having come from the Kyogues to Kyanharro's house to see him; and on his way the said king and his Kyanesse Indians had some mischance befallen them, for the * * * * * the Nakees Indians fell upon them; but the said king and his Kyanesse Indians fought their way through them and gott to Kyanharro's house, where they desired to remain and be maintained in a peaceable countrie. Menanzes in their name gives six doe skins.

To whom Kyanharro replied, you are of my blood, I cannot deny you, but must receive you.

And the said Kyanesse Indians desired, that Kyanharro wold speak with the Christians, that they wold receive them with the same kindness as he did; and as they are here protected by the Christians, the said Kyanesse Indians hope to meet with the same protection—and give six doe skins.

The Lieut. Governor acquainted the said Indians, "that, on the 4th instant, John Budd informed him that an Indian king of West Jersie, with other Indians of this place, told him, that from a meeting they lately held within 25 miles of this Government they brought two belts of wampum, and delivered them to Capt. Cock to present them to his Excellency, in order to a treatie for confirming their former League with the English—that they complained that they had severall dayes delivered in their belts, and could have no hearing, but wer putt off by promises that they should be heard one day after another—that they tarried in Town 8 or 9 dayes, and that about 13 dayes since Mohocksey's sone came here and acquainted him, the said Budd, that hee was sent to see if the Philadelphians could give him a good word back—and that about ten dayes since, the said informant being at Peter Stallcupp's house, in New Castle Countie, said Stallcupp told him, that an Indian, called Nestacatho, there informed an Indian king named Awahelah, saying, We've ill news (repeating it again); and said, you know that from such a meeting we sent two belts of wampum, in order to a treatie, but the Govern'r of New York wold not treat with us—and they have had in Philadelphia a great number of men with drums and guns, &c., and the same at New Castle while the Govern'r was there—and that he went thence to Maryland with such speed that they killed two horses on the way. Which things look with a verie ill

design—we believe that there is no good meant by the English—and there is some speedy matter in hand. The said Budd further saith, that last Monday hee acquainted Joseph Wilcox with the substance of the above written."

The Lieut. Governor ask'd the Indians if the said information was true. They answered, itt was all false—there was no such meeting, nor no such design to treat with Governor Fletcher, nor an hearing ask'd—and if Mohocksey's sone, or their young men when drunk, told John Budd any such thing, he should not make such a storie of it, unles he had itt from their Sachems.

Lacey Cock also said, that the two belts were given him by Tamanee and Hithquoquean, to be kept for them till they should call for them.

The Lieut. Governor told Mr. Budd, that "hee was much to blame for giving his information first to the Justice, (who never acquainted him of it, nor of his information,) especially since itt concerned the peace of the Province in generall; and for that hee came not to him till hee was sent for; and that if hee committed the like again, he should not goe unpunish'd," and so dismis'd him.

Then the Lieutenant Governor (by Lacey Cock interpreter) answered the Indians:—

"You did verie prudentlie, to consider well how you entered in a war without advice and consent of their Majesties of Great Britain's Chief Governor here, who is Governor of New Yorke. I heare there are sober and wise men among you; and there is an old man, who cannot come down, who can give you good Councill.

"And you must be considerat in what you doe, for we have enemies round about us.

"It is but late that wee took up armes, and I assure you, it is not our design thereby to make warr upon you or upon

any others ; but thereby to be in a cappacitie and readiness to defend ourselves and you from our and your common enemie the French, if they should happen to assault us or you.

" His Excellency the Governo^{r} of New York is also Chief Governo^{r} of this Province, and came hither to see what men and money he could raise for the defence of Albany and the frontiers, from the French and Indians. He carried some money with him, but suffered our men to stay at home to defend themselves and their countrie against the French. While here hee inquired how our Indians and wee Christians agreed ? Wee answered that for many years wee had lived as brethren. Hee desired wee might continue our friendship, for, said he, the enemie of one is the enemie of both."

The Lieu^{t} Governo^{r} also said, " If the Senekas send again to you, do you send to me, and I will send an express to New York, and his Excellencie will take care that the Senekas shall doe you no injurie."

Soe they all departed verie well satisfied with the Lieu^{t} Governor's answer.

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